The Woman Who Did: Janet Achurch, Ibsen, and the New Woman, Australia 1889–1891

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Abstract

The Australian theatre in the late nineteenth century was in transition: it was, like the country, seeking its own identity in a period of social change. The contributions made to its development by men are well documented. Those made by women have received much less recognition. This thesis addresses that hiatus, by examining the life, celebrity, and influence of English actress, Janet Achurch. It focuses on her 1889–91 Australian tour and the ambivalent responses to her portrayal of Nora in Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*.

Achurch, with her husband, actor Charles Charrington, came to Australia under contract to entrepreneurs Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove. On 14 September, 1889 she opened at the Princess's Theatre in Melbourne with *A Doll's House*, the play now most closely connected with the concept of the New Woman. She closed with the same play at Brisbane's Theatre Royal on 13 November, 1891.

A picture of Achurch's tour has emerged from newspapers and other periodicals accessed through the National Library of Australia's digitised database, Trove. After siting the tour within the historical and cultural context of Australia and its theatre, this thesis follows Achurch's progression, revealed in reviews, opinions, letters to the editor, and advertisements. It then discusses the controversies occasioned by the inclusion of *Camille*, *Hedda Gabler*, and *Doll's House* in her repertoire, before examining Achurch's achievements during her two years in the country.

Most controversy centred on *Doll's House,* which polarised the critics and playgoing public. Responses ranged from deeply supportive to highly condemnatory. Although the sometimes acrimonious debate continued, negative reactions to *Doll's House* lessened as the tour progressed. A graph of the responses to *Doll's House* and Nora, coded for sympathy, neutrality, or antipathy, demonstrates the early trend towards a less hostile reception.

Achurch, through her abilities as a performer, personal popularity, and staging of drama that stimulated public discussion, made three contributions to theatre in Australia that were of particular significance. First, she contributed by building audiences throughout the country, most notably by

reinvigorating the industry in Brisbane, and pioneering the inclusion of Perth in the itineraries of first-rank companies. Second, she introduced the emerging realist direction in literature to the Australian stage through the works of Henrik Ibsen. Third, she established the stage as a forum for discussion of issues affecting women in the late nineteenth century. Achurch represents the many women who, to a smaller or greater degree, influenced the development of theatre in Australia as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

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Contents

Illustrations

Tables

Introduction

When twenty-six year old English actress Janet Achurch arrived in Australia in September 1889, she had already established herself as a leading player on the London stage. A talented and popular young actress, she brought to the country drama that was different, contentious, and thought-provoking. Australia was taking its place in the international arena and as the country developed, so did its theatre, not a little assisted by the men and women who performed on its stages. Early colonial theatre is well-represented in literary research, but theatre in the last decades of the nineteenth century has attracted less attention. In particular, contributions made by women have received little recognition.

An examination of Achurch's tour of Australia from September 1889 to November 1891 supports my contention that an exploration of public response to New Woman plays sheds light on the contributions made by women in the last decade before the twentieth century. The response to the drama Achurch presented reveals the impact that it made, not only on theatre, but on theatregoers. This thesis tells the story of Achurch's time in Australia, and of the controversies and contributions it occasioned. It focuses on the effects of Achurch's presentation of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, and of the play's protagonist, Nora. *A Doll's House* was of a genre new to Australian audiences, and it created controversy wherever it was staged. The staples of the Australian stage since European settlement had been melodrama, traditional comedies, tragedies, farces, and some more serious drama, particularly Shakespeare. *A Doll's House*, by contrast, discusses women's role in society. It is now considered to be the play most closely connected with the concept of the New Woman.

The New Woman was a manifestation of what was known as the "woman question," which encompassed, and contributed to, contemporary discourses around women's nature and role. The idea of the New Woman also encompassed those women who recognised, and tried to breach, accepted social boundaries. The New Woman as a social phenomenon gave rise to a genre of fiction that was popular between the 1880s and the 1930s. As well as over 160 novels and short stories, at least thirty-six New Woman plays have been identified by researchers. Appendix 4 provides details of those plays. They include not only *A Doll's House* (1879), but also two other Ibsen dramas, *Hedda Gabler* (1890),

and *Rosmersholm* (1886); both plays highlight the sometimes tragic consequences of women's search for security. While *Rosmersholm* was not produced here until 1911, Achurch introduced both *Doll's House* and *Hedda* to Australia, the former in 1889, and the latter in 1891.[1]

In doing so, Achurch made three contributions to theatre in this country that were of particular significance. First, she contributed by building audiences, most notably by helping in the reinvigoration of the industry in Brisbane, and pioneering the inclusion of Perth in the itineraries of first-rate companies. Second, she introduced to the Australian stage the emerging directions in realist drama. Third, she established the Australian stage as a forum for discussion of issues affecting women.

This thesis draws upon the potential offered for archival research by developments such as the "Trove" service of the National Library of Australia. It presents evidence from reviews, articles, letters to the editor, and advertisements in newspapers contemporary to the tour and available from the Trove digitised database. It builds on research recently undertaken in Australia which examines facets of Achurch's tour and its significance to theatre in this country. Here, I review the literature arising from that research, before detailing my process of data retrieval and analysis, and providing a précis of the thesis chapters.

A review of the literature

"This innovative period," suggests Veronica Kelly, speaking in relation to the last decade of the 1800s and the first of the 1900s, "laid the foundations for twentieth-century global entertainment" (1). An overview of seminal works on theatre history for the period, however, indicates that scholarly literature is far from comprehensive. The final decades of the nineteenth century were an era of change in Australian theatre. There was a move away from melodrama; repertoires increasingly included works reflecting the distinctive Australian way of life; and there were more roles for women. One indicator of the changes taking place was the appearance of realist plays, many concerning issues of concern to women. *A Doll's House* is one such play. It has been the subject of intensive research over the last century or more, predominantly in relation to performances in Europe and America. It has received less attention in Australia; in particular, little has been paid to its introduction to this country.

The four focal points of this thesis are Achurch, the tour, *A Doll's House*, and the New Woman. A handful of researchers have recently covered aspects of each, in the form of chapters or articles where there has not been the space to bring the four topics together in detail. Janette Gordon-Clark, for example, in her thesis "'The Progress of the Stars': Actresses and Their Repertoires in Australia from the 1850s to the 1890s" (2000), devotes a chapter to Achurch and her tour. Gordon-Clark's work was of assistance to me by providing details of Achurch's itinerary that did not emerge from Trove. Gordon-Clark focuses on the careers of six leading actresses, and the development of those careers as part of the wider historical development of the stage in Australia, in particular the changing opportunities for women. Gordon-Clark does not focus on any one play or role, on the implications of their impact on their audiences, or on the New Woman. Of *Doll's House*, she simply remarks that "to read the comments on the plot by various critics is to realise how they misread the basis and philosophy of the play" (242–43).

By contrast, Jacqueline Martin's 2011 work, "*A Doll's House* in the Antipodes," in *Global Ibsen*, relates specifically to *Doll's House*. Achurch and the tour are relevant but not the focus. Martin's discussion of the reception of *Doll's House* in Australia and New Zealand covers the period from 1889 until 2006. She uses the differing audience reception of the play in 1889, 1989, and 2006 to illustrate the shift in Australian attitudes to issues of women's rights in response to "changes in women's position and social values in society" (Martin 62). References to the New Woman are made in passing but the concept is not the focus of the work.

Eileen Hoare's two papers link Achurch, *A Doll's House*, and the New Woman: "*A Doll* [sic] *House* in Australia" (2003), and "The New Woman in the New World: Ibsen in Australia 1889–1891" (2008). The first, presented at an Ibsen Society Conference, in the author's words "focuses on the reception of *A Doll's House* and Ibsen" in the Antipodes, in particular "the significant role of the actress, Janet Achurch, in introducing the plays of Ibsen to the far-flung outposts of the British Empire" (Hoare "*A Doll House*" 1). While making a brief mention of *Hedda Gabler*, the focus of the paper is the responses to *Doll's House* as elicited from reviews in various newspapers and periodicals.

Hoare concluded from the reviews that the first production was "not particularly encouraging"; her overall impression, however, is that there was "a gradual acceptance of this new drama" (4–5). This thesis demonstrates that the acceptance of the play was more rapid than Hoare suggests.

The concept of the New Woman is integral to Hoare's work. She refers, in particular, to responses to *Doll's House* in New Zealand during Achurch's three-month tour of that country in late 1890, noting that "the reviewer anticipated Nora's transformation would be into a 'New Woman'" (7). She quotes the following from the *New Zealand Herald* of Thursday, 18 January 1891: "'Next time we meet her she will no doubt be smoking a pipe, wearing a Bloomer costume, and coming back to let "the old man" know that she is going to be mistress in her own house'" (qtd. in 7).

The tour is not the focus of the work, or of her later paper, presented at the 2006 Conference of the Australasian Society for Drama, Theatre and Performance Studies. The Abstract for the article notes that the frequency of performances of *Doll's House* in Australia "allows for a comparative study between the emotional and antagonistic initial responses to the play" (Hoare "New Woman"). The article itself, however, is not an in-depth discussion of the responses to *Doll's House* over the tour. Similarly to her previous work, it is an overview of the reviews and reviewers of early productions of *Doll* in Australia; the New Woman; and the changing circumstances for women of the period.

Perhaps the gap in the literature can best be illustrated by reference to an article by Julie Holledge, "Addressing the Global Phenomenon of *A Doll's House*: An Intercultural Intervention," which appeared in *Ibsen Studies* in 2008. Holledge refers to the play's "extraordinarily rich production history" (23). She discusses productions in New Zealand, Korea, Egypt, Europe, England, Russia, Zambia, Japan, North America, China, and Germany (13–28). Australia is mentioned only in a note relating to Holledge's 2006 study of different approaches to emotion in Australian and Korean actors (25–26). There is no mention that the play opened here in September 1889 only three months after its English premiere in London.

Although Gordon-Clarke, Martin, and Hoare have been of immense assistance to me for this present study, none of their works provides an in-depth examination of Achurch's tour, or of the

impact of *Doll's House* as a New Woman play. This thesis is such a work, and contributes to our understanding of this important period in theatre in this country. The availability from Trove of digitised copies of Australian newspapers contemporary to the tour permits an insight into Achurch's tour mediated only by the newspapers themselves. It allows access not only to reviews, but to opinions, and to letters written by members of the public. The story that emerges not only adds to the historical records, but also allows an appreciation of the changing culture in Australia. A combined quantitative and qualitative approach permits a fresh interpretation of the data, and its significance to theatre in this country.

Methodology

This thesis acts on the premise that an examination of response to drama staged more than 120 years ago must encompass both historical facts and the wider context of the human stories behind the facts. It therefore takes two perspectives: the historical, and the cultural. The first is achieved by a chronology of the tour. The second incorporates the presentation on stage of Ibsen's play, the public response to it and the diverse personal meanings attributed to its content, and what the tour meant to the theatre in this country.

Newspapers contemporary to the tour were selected as the source of primary research data for their availability electronically through Trove, for their immediacy to the period under examination, and for the quantity of data available. While other textual traces of the period exist, they have limitations. For example, personal narratives such as journals, diaries, correspondence, and travel writing are by their nature restricted in their scope of activity and perspective. Government records are not always readily accessible, and their focus can be purely statistical. Newspapers and other periodicals, by contrast, issue on a regular, often daily, basis, cover a variety of topics, and in aggregate cover a wide geographical and chronological range. Importantly for this study, digitised newspapers are available from each of the six colonial centres over the period of the tour.

The availability of local newspapers was important to the population from early days. As the colonies developed, notes Wallace Kirsop, "so too did the call for local publishing become more

insistent" (28). The first independent newspaper, the *Australian*, was published in 1824.[2] By 1889, all major centres had their own publications. Although their main thrust was the dissemination of news, newspapers also contained personal announcements, information on the latest fashions, and advertisements. They notified of, and gave opinions on, dramatic events and performers. As Kelly suggests, they retailed "the latest news in art, entertainment, fashion and celebrity" (1). They were particularly important as a means of promoting cultural activities, and as Kelly points out, touring companies "enjoyed a mutually profitable partnership with newspapers" (1).

Newspapers also provided a platform for public discussion, through editorials, opinions, and letters to the editor. Their usefulness as a forum for issues that had, rightly or wrongly, previously been kept private, is explicit in the following extract from the *South Australian Register* on 13 June 1884:

> It is one of the characteristics of the times that free discussions of important public questions is facilitated by means of the newspaper press. There is a growing willingness on the part of public men . . . to avail themselves of the opportunities thus afforded to expound their views and enforce their convictions. Debates which years ago would have been conducted in the privacy of some secret conclave now see the light of day . . . ("Oxford" 4)

Newspapers placed before the public matters of social concern, often referred to as the "— question," such as the "Irish question," or the "labour question." Contemporary to Achurch's tour was the "woman question," and the New Woman.

Data for this study was obtained by searching digitised newspapers for occurrences of the following terms appearing between January 1880 and 31 December 1891: Achurch; Ibsen; Charrington; New Woman/Women; woman question; *A/The Doll*/*Doll's House*; Nora; *Hedda Gabler*; Hedda; and *Rosmersholm*. The search elicited 1,561 items. The items were categorised into ten typologies: review; opinion; letter to the editor; lecture; advertisement; obituary; fiction; verse; joke; and general item (including articles, biographies, descriptions, notices, and reviews of other plays in which Achurch performed).

From the 1,561 items I extracted the chronological details of the tour; its story is set out in "Chapter 4: Progression." The full itinerary is detailed in Appendix 2. That appendix also provides the repertoire, in alphabetical order showing Achurch's roles, and also in chronological order showing the dates and places of the first and last performances, and the total number of performances, of each play. The appendix also lists the places in which *Doll's House* and *Hedda* were staged, and the numbers of performances in each season. It concludes with a chronological list of the venues in which Achurch performed. Appendix 3 shows cast members for each production, as well as providing a master-list of the forty-six actresses and 113 actors performing with the Achurch-Charrington Company over the course of the tour. This appendix also includes a list of the supernumeraries (irregular or extra cast and crew) and support personnel by production.

To discover the response to *A Doll's House*, and how the response changed from time to time and place to place, the period for analysis was abbreviated to cover only the duration of the tour, reducing the number of items to 1,409. To limit the scope further, all repeated items, advertisements, and items not issuing directly from Australian publications or relating to Australian productions of *Doll's House* were excluded. Search terms were limited to four, namely Achurch, Ibsen, *Doll*, and Nora, and each was given a code letter: Achurch (A); Ibsen (I); *Doll* (*D*); and Nora (N). The final sample was a total of 757 references.

I analysed each of the 757 references for its general attitude as an indication of response. A small number sat at the poles of a continuum from fully sympathetic to fully antipathetic. Most, however, sat closer to one end, or had no tendency either way. The responses were therefore placed into one of three general groups: "sympathetic or supportive" (S); "antipathetic or antagonistic" (A); or "neutral or objective" (N). For example, A-N represents a mostly neutral reference to Achurch, or her name without comment. Appendix 1 includes a table setting out the number of occurrences of each attitude on a month by month basis. The figures for *Doll's House* and Nora in this table were combined to form Table 1 in Chapter 5, providing the numerical values for a graph that plots the

fluctuations in response over the course of the tour. In Chapters 5 and 6 I discuss the results of these findings.

It is interesting to note from the table in Appendix 1 that over the period of the tour attitudes to Achurch, on the whole, did not vary: of the 188 references to her, all were sympathetic, and none antipathetic. Those to Ibsen, *Doll's House*, and Nora, however, did change, and quite markedly. Sympathetic references to Ibsen were initially fewer than antipathetic references, but by the end of the tour were in the majority. Antipathetic attitudes to the play and protagonist outnumbered sympathetic attitudes at first, but the trend quickly reversed. By mid-1890, *Doll's House* and Nora were being discussed more neutrally, and this trend continued. Appendix 1 provides examples of the items analysed, as well a list of the forty-eight newspapers from which the material was drawn. As each of the 1,561 items was located it was précised, creating an interesting but unwieldy store of information, even when reduced to include only coded items. The coded items were therefore further culled to retain only the reviews, opinions, and letters to the editor.

The limitations of relying on data obtained from digitised print material have been minimised as far as possible. For example, not all newspapers of the period survive. Of those that do, not all have been digitised, and those that have been digitised since 2013 are excluded from this study. However, over fifty newspapers were accessed during the research period, with forty-eight eliciting relevant material. Five of these are major papers still current today, namely the Hobart *Mercury*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Adelaide *Advertiser*, *West Australian*, and *Brisbane Courier*. On the few occasions where poor reproduction has obscured text or when names are spelt differently, the data has been checked against other sources of information such as encyclopaedia or theatre dictionaries.

Data that has been drawn from digitised newspapers is referenced accordingly. Other information, especially biographical material, has been assembled from numerous sources, including newspapers and other publications contemporary to the tour, theatre dictionaries, and encyclopaedia. Historical facts are therefore provided throughout without referencing, except where necessary for

direct quotes and material that may be contentious. Those sources that do not appear in "Works Cited" are listed in the notes.[3]

Précis of chapters

The chapters of this thesis reflect the meta-drama of the tour: its context, *dramatis personae*, setting, and performance, as well as the meanings attributed by audiences to *A Doll's House* and to Nora. The first chapter, "Prologue," is an overview of current thinking about the social and literary phenomenon of the New Woman, and defines the New Woman as the woman of the late nineteenth century who was seeking identity, independence, and freedom of choice. This chapter sites *A Doll's House* as a New Woman play, and explains how it interrogates the situation of women at the end of the nineteenth century. In particular, it demonstrates how the character of the female protagonist, Nora, contributes to that interrogation by openly questioning her role in society.

Achurch and Ibsen are the star players, and their biographies are presented in the second chapter, "*Dramatis Personae*." This chapter also introduces William Archer and George Bernard Shaw, the support players who helped form and inform Achurch's growth as an actress.[4] It also explains why Achurch, with the help of Ibsen, Archer, and Shaw, was the right woman, at the right point of her career, to bring drama about women's issues to Australia. The chapter demonstrates why each *dramatis persona* is important to the story, and why the intersection of their lives had an impact on the development of theatre in this country.

By the time Achurch reached Australia, its theatre was flourishing. Every major colonial centre, with the exception of Perth, had at least one dedicated playhouse. The industry reflected the key historical, social, political, and cultural factors that had helped shape the country since European settlement. Chapter 3, "Setting," therefore sets the scene for Achurch's tour, providing the background scenery and furnishings that help audiences to contextualise. By shining a spotlight on theatre, both as institution and as playhouse, and in particular those playhouses in which Achurch performed, the chapter builds a picture of a developing industry which was, at the time of the tour, becoming firmly established, but was ready for something that was new and modern.

Where previous chapters are the background, "Progression" tells the story of Achurch's Australian visit, from her first appearance in Melbourne on 14 September 1889 to her final appearance in Brisbane on 13 November 1891. The story is not only a monument to a woman's perseverance and an acknowledgment of a wife and mother's ability to successfully combine a public career with her private roles, but testament to a performer's need for stamina. Achurch, with the Achurch-Charrington Company, visited every one of the six major centres and many of the smaller ones. She presented drama both traditional and groundbreaking, bringing acclaim, but also conflict.

In Chapter 5 I discuss those controversies, created not by the tour itself or by Achurch, but by the plays she presented, most markedly *Doll's House*. Textual evidence of the changing public response to Achurch, to Ibsen and his plays, and to Nora is supported by a graph marking the highs and lows of approval. In this chapter I demonstrate that while *Doll's House* did not achieve general popularity, it had its champions as well as its detractors, and attained public acceptance early in the tour.

In Chapter 6, "Contribution," I draw on the previous two chapters to support my contention that Achurch, as a representative of women on stage in the late nineteenth century, assisted the development of the Australian theatre to a significant degree. I demonstrate that it was not just the quality of her acting that aided Achurch in making real contributions to theatre in Australia. It was also her willingness to take risks: to ensure that playgoers had access not only to the expected fare, but to the controversial, and unexpected. Three main themes emerge: the quite prosaic but vital role of attracting audiences; the introduction of drama with a new form of dramaturgy; and the opening of the stage as a forum for discussion of women's issues.

During her time in Australia, Achurch had given birth to a daughter, Nora, and had made at least 360 appearances in twenty-five different plays, including fifty-three performances as Nora in *Doll's House* and four as Hedda in *Hedda Gabler*. Her story continued after she left these shores. She staged *Doll's House* on her homeward journey, interrupted only by ill-health, and her return season in London opened with *Doll's House*, the play with which she came to be mostly associated. The final chapter therefore is not only the epilogue to the thesis, but to Achurch's personal story, which confirms that

the Australian tour was the high point of her career. "Epilogue" therefore also re-commemorates her achievements on behalf of theatre in this country.

In 2010, Achurch and Charrington biographer Bernard Ince observed that "the story of the Charrington's [sic] tour of the Antipodes has yet to be fully recounted" (Ince "Pioneer" n.pag.). This thesis goes some way to redressing that hiatus, while also demonstrating the significance of women's contributions during what Kelly calls the "dynamic decades" of the theatre in this country (1). Chapter 1 is the prologue to the story of the tour, explaining the concept of the New Woman, and placing it in historical context. It positions the young actress, Janet Achurch, as a "new" sort of woman: a woman who was not only determined to bring a controversial drama to the Australian stage, but who did.

Chapter 1: Prologue

When Achurch brought *A Doll's House* to Australia, it was an experiment that may have failed. According to some contemporary commentators, it did fail. According to others, it was an extraordinary success. The experiment lay in staging a type of drama the like of which had not before been seen in Australia: a drama in which the spotlight throughout is firmly on a woman questioning her role in society. As the play closes, so does an off-stage door, as the woman leaves in search of herself. The woman, Nora, is now considered to be the dramatic character most closely associated with the concept of the New Woman.

An understanding of the significance of the experiment is aided by an insight into the New Woman and *A Doll's House*. This chapter is therefore in two sections. The first provides an overview of current thinking about the concept of the New Woman, places it in an historical context, and defines its use in this thesis. The second section is in two parts: a précis of *A Doll's House* and an explanation of how the play interrogates the situation of women as it existed in the Western world of the time.

The New Woman

The "New Woman" was one of the terms applied in the late nineteenth century to women who were breaking the conventional boundaries between the private, female sphere, and the public, male sphere. Opinions about the New Woman were myriad, and often polarised. For some, she was part of the woman question. For others, she was one answer to that question. Importantly, it was the New Woman who was questioning her place in traditional social hierarchies. The New Woman was also the subject of a genre of fiction. Because the concept of the New Woman is multifaceted, I concentrate here on the New Woman as social phenomenon and literary genre. I conclude by contextualising actresses as New Women.

The New Woman as Social Phenomenon

The New Woman as both social phenomenon and literary genre emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century and disappeared early in the twentieth. The concept has defied ultimate definition. Even with the benefit of hindsight and recent renewed academic examination (mostly from Britain or

the United States; little from Australia), the many attempts to define this "new" woman, to enumerate her specific traits and philosophies, have not resulted in consensus. Additionally, not all women of the period can be classed as New Women, or were sympathetic to those who were.

The phenomenon and the genre arose in response to, and as part of, contemporary discourses under the umbrella term, the "woman question." The woman question encompassed the many arguments around women's nature and role, particularly in marriage and motherhood, sexuality, careers, and politics. Debates centred on the demands (and the subversion of, or resistance to, those demands) for the extension of the sphere of women's activities beyond the traditional home and family (Pykett 12).

The period was one of huge social shifts. This was especially so for women, many of whom were attempting to enter tertiary education and professions traditionally the domain of men, or who were active in the suffrage movement. Others were seeking personal identity, both within, and outside, conventional marriage. The status of women was widely discussed in newspapers and other periodicals in Britain, and by the mid 1880s, in Australia also (Law 18–22). The New Woman emerged as the embodiment of this complexity of social tendencies and therefore was, according to Lyn Pykett, a "harbinger of social change" (139–40). Contemporary reactions were polarised. To her supporters, the New Woman was the one who had worked out what was wrong with "Home-is-the-Woman's-Sphere" and was doing something about it (139). To her critics, she was a "cultural demon" who was undermining proper female behaviour (139).

There were two generations of New Women. According to Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, the first generation was educated during the 1870s and 1880s, and "flourished professionally between the 1880s and the First World War" (177). The second generation was educated in the 1890s, "often by the first generation of New Women," and "came into their own in the years immediately preceding and succeeding the First World War" (177). This assertion is supported by the peak publication periods of New Woman fiction, which are explained in the next section.

There is doubt about how, and when, the term "New Woman" appeared. One suggestion is that its popular use began in 1894 with Sydney Grundy's derisive play, *The New Woman* (Hoare "New Woman" 2). Another is that the term was brought into the public arena in March 1894 by novelist Sarah Grand, in an article entitled "The New Aspects of the Woman Question," published in the *North American Review* (Ardis 10; Gardner *Sisters* 3; Nelson ix). Others claim it was a utopian vision invented by early feminist press in 1893 (Tusan 169). The term was in use several years earlier, however, as evidenced by the following, published in the *Brisbane Courier* on 18 June 1887: "Woman presents herself for the first time in the history of the world as the conscious co-partner with man, and if the New Democracy is incommensurable in its potentialities so also is the New Woman Creed" ("Victorian Era" 3). It is reasonable to suggest that the term "New Woman" was in use by the mid to late 1880s, and was brought into general public discourse by the early 1890s.

It is even harder to define the concept. The New Woman was not a discrete social movement, and women of the period were not all of one mind. They "held a variety of opinions on social and political issues . . . and did not see themselves as a monolithic group," according to Carolyn Nelson (x). Wilhelmina Wimble, writing for the *Lady's Realm* of November 1896 (page 104), suggested that many were not aligned with the creed of the New Woman, but were merely "actuated by the modern spirit of independence" (qtd. in Ashdown 65–67). An article from London published in the *South Australian Register* in November 1894 exemplifies the controversy and confusion:

> The "new woman" is a phrase of which we are all heartily sick, but its occurrence is as frequent as ever. Its vitality, too, seems not in the least impaired by the rude onslaughts of ruder writers. The controversialists, however, differ materially when they attempt a definition of this new species. Wearing knickerbockers, smoking, and riding bicycles seem the offices which at once ensure subscription on the Index Expurgatorius of the British man and British matron alike. (Oxonian 6)

Women wearing knickerbockers, or engaging in manly pursuits such as smoking or riding bicycles, were visible signs of a changing society. Incursions by women into the professions, the arts,

and different forms of recreation often necessitated modification of attire—such as wearing trousers—to more easily undertake those activities. Many women fully cross-dressed; for some, it was a deliberate rejection of the feminine, but for others it was simply for freedom of movement (Bratton 78). For actresses, cross-dressing was a necessity: practical, and not necessarily subversive (79). However, to many detractors, including "male physicians, politicians, even modernist writers," the New Woman and "mannish lesbian" were almost synonymous, symbolising "disorder in a world gone mad" (Smith-Rosenberg 40).

In an era of challenges to the status quo, the New Woman became the focal point for the rights of women (Cunningham 1–2). Earlier writings, such as Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) and John Stuart Mills's *The Subjection of Women* (1869) had made major contributions to discourses around women's rights and roles. By the late 1800s, society had changed sufficiently to permit the New Woman to represent "everything that was daring and revolutionary, everything that was challenging to the norms of female behaviour" (Cunningham 10). Vocal expression of such challenges, especially with the intensification of discourses around feminism and suffrage, gave rise in the media to such terms as the "shrieking sisterhood" (L. M. Richardson 3; Thompson 3).

Women challenging societal norms was decidedly unnatural in the eyes of many conventional Victorians, and seen as an ideological threat. In many ways, according to Sharon Crozier, the New Woman represented the tension between the old and the new (3). There were many contradictions in the way the New Woman was perceived at the time. She was, according to various critics, simultaneously non-female, unfeminine, and ultra-feminine (Pykett 140). She was considered unsexed, but also so over-sexed as to cause fear of emasculation (Dixon 169; Willis 63). Thus, the epithet of "wild woman" (Pykett 139; L. M. Richardson 3). Mrs Lynn Linton, novelist and opponent of women's rights, in an article in *Nineteenth Century* magazine reproduced in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 14 November 1891, described the "wild women" as "aggressive, disturbing, officious, unquiet, rebellious to authority and tyrannous to those whom they can subdue, . . . they are about the

most unlovely specimens the sea has yet produced" (qtd. in "October Reviews" 5). Because she sought equality with men, the "wild woman" was considered to want to *be* a man, and was seen as unfeminine and unwomanly.

Lack of femininity and unwomanliness were considered a biological threat to the human race. Many (including Sigmund Freud) suggested that biology determined gender, and that women were hardwired to be wives and mothers; any attempts otherwise were "abnormal," "psychotic," or "monstrous" (Solomon 47). It was also considered by some that development of the female brain caused the womb to atrophy (Pykett 140). Laurel Young suggests that the New Woman was associated negatively with the Victorian spinster, "denied" work and love: the stereotyped pathetic old maid (41). At the time, women (in Britain) far outnumbered men; there were always the "superfluous" or "odd" women who did not achieve marriage, and those who did, often did so for security and escape from poverty, rather than for love (Gardner *Plays* xi). There were, too, the "odd" women who chose not to marry.

A letter published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 26 May, 1891, shortly after Achurch's second season of *Doll's House* in Sydney, illustrates the thinking amongst some of the community regarding the perceived threat to the human race by those who were promoting women's rights. The correspondent states it as a scientific fact that women must each have four children to ensure continuation of the human race. Those who are "woman question agitator[s]" or "women's rights women," and those not wanting to be wives and mothers, are promoting the "sexless woman" and should be ashamed of themselves, according to the writer:

> The self-supporting spinster is in fact but a deplorable accident, a melancholy freak of nature [and although "masculine chivalry" demands we look after her] she is but an abnormality, not the woman of the future. The hopes of our race lie with the mothers. . . . If either class has to be sacrificed to the other it should be the spinsters, whose type perishes, being from Nature's point of view, useless. (Hall 3)

The range of opinions is illustrated by the results of a competition held by the magazine *The Gentlewoman* seeking the best "epigrammatic definition" of the New Woman, and published in the Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* on 8 November 1894. While amusing, the negative bias is evident:

> "A fresh darn on the original blue stocking. . . . The old maid trying to be the young man. . . . Sex of one and half a dozen of the other. . . . A creature of opinions decided and skirts divided. . . . One who has ceased to be a lady and has not yet attained to be a gentleman. . . . The unsexed section of the sex. . . . Man's newest and best reason for remaining single. . . . Madam become Adam. . . . A fast-sailing craft sailing near the wind and carrying no ballast. . . . An old dish with new seasoning. . . . Mannishness minus Manliness. ("Gossip" 3)

Despite the multitude of viewpoints and opinions, some characteristics of the New Woman have been proposed. She was "intelligent, individualistic and principled . . . [and] essentially middle-class," flamboyant, eccentric, and idealistic (Cunningham 10–11). She was politically aware and independent, drawing upon and bringing to fruition many of her Victorian mother's aspirations; she was young, fought for the right to systematic high education and entry to male professions, and outspoken on intellectual and sexual issues (Jusová 1; Smith-Rosenberg 176). She was a "composite product of the accelerating woman's movement, a forerunner to the . . . suffragette" (Gardner *Sisters* 6). She shared "a rejection of the culturally defined feminine role and a desire for increased educational and career opportunities that would allow them to be economically self-sufficient" (Nelson x). Identifying as a New Woman was by personal choice, and, despite emergent political agitations, "not based on any recognisable movement or organisation" (Cunningham 10).

This thesis defines the New Woman as the woman of the late nineteenth century who was seeking identity, independence, and freedom of choice. She was of all ages, appearances, education attainments, sexualities, marital statuses, and social positions, and held differing political viewpoints. The points of confluence are in her search for a life lived on her own terms, in a society which often made the quest difficult. For feminist Viv Gardner, the New Woman was all women who were

"struggling to control and improve their lives in an implacably male world" (*Plays* xi). The reality of life for many such women was to surface in fiction.

The New Woman as Literary Genre

The New Woman of the genre of "New Woman fiction" echoes the aspirations of the New Woman-as-person. The genre took several forms, from light romance, to didactic homilies and often-stark representations of the realities of life for women at the time. As public debate mushroomed and controversies multiplied around the topic of both the social phenomenon and the new writings during the mid to late 1890s, the New Woman became the focus of articles and cartoons in periodicals. The resulting caricatured image as a textualised symbol of social disorder became the dominant representation, an object of ridicule: the clichéd "blue stocking."

The New Woman genre lay across the same historical period, and incorporated some of the characteristics of Victorian, Decadent, fin de siècle, and Modernist literature. There were two main stages: the first in the late 1800s, the second a few decades later. Franco Moretti, in *Graphs, Maps, Trees,* identifies the genre as part of a cluster appearing in the late 1880s and disappearing in the early 1900s (18–19).[5] The second phase of New Woman writings is equivalent to the emergence of second-generation New Women, that is, around the time of World War I, and the two decades beyond.

Many writings have doubtless disappeared beyond re-discovery. Research for this study has, however, revealed at least 109 writers (female and male) of New Woman fiction, including five from Australia.[6] No fewer than 164 novels and short stories were published from 1876 to 1937. The years 1889 to 1901 are the most prominent, with a clear peak in 1895. One or two appear in most of ensuing years, with another small rise between 1911 and 1916.

The exception to the general time span is Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801), which is among the first novels written by a woman. While no authority appears to have formally identified it as belonging to the genre, it contains a chapter entitled "The Rights of Women," and has a strong female protagonist who has many of the general characteristics of the New Woman. Research for this thesis has also discovered twenty-four authors of thirty-six New Woman plays. Again, most

plays were published in two main phases: 1893 to 1895 (twelve), and 1905 to 1913 (seventeen). Appendix 4 contains a list of the plays.

As the genre evolved throughout the 1890s and early 1900s, the heroine became youthful, healthy, attractive, and middle-class. Well-educated, she is often known as a "Girton girl" (Willis 55). That is, she is a graduate of Girton College for women at Cambridge University.[7] She transgresses social mores, in particular in relation to sexuality, or women's role within marriage and the family (Pykett 10). Gail Finney describes the fictional New Woman thus:

> The New Woman typically values self-fulfilment and independence rather than the stereotypically feminine ideal of self-sacrifice; believes in legal and sexual equality; often remains single because of the difficulty of combining such equality with marriage; is more open about her sexuality than the 'Old Woman'; is well-educated and reads a great deal; has a job; is athletic or otherwise physically vigorous and, accordingly, prefers comfortable clothes (sometimes male attire) to traditional female garb. (95–96)

Plots often involve social and sexual discontent and awakening (Aston 262). In many, the heroine is condemned to actual or metaphorical suicide as "punishment" for her temerity in trying to overstep social boundaries (Gardner *Sisters* 9).

Researchers identify several sub-genres of New Woman fiction. Talia Schaffer proposes a sub-genre "vividly depicting single women's hard-working and unglamorous lifestyle" (50). This sub-genre breaks from the romanticised ideal of the beautiful if tragic heroine. An example is Cicely Hamilton's *Diana of Dobson's* (1908), a portrayal of a shop girl, subjected to grinding labour during the day, and a compulsory company dormitory at night. Chris Willis designates two sub-genres as "polemic" and "commercial" fiction (63–64). Polemic fiction resonates more with the daily existence of real women, and includes serious and didactic discourses on suffrage, working conditions, education and career opportunities, marriage, and motherhood (63). Commercial fiction is lighter, with more of an element of romance, and the heroine, while emancipated and headstrong, is youthful and beautiful (64).

Gail Cunningham identifies other sub-genres as "purity school" (or "hill-top novel") and "neurotic school" (50–51). The first cling to a notion of a feminine ideal, in which purity is the highest principle (50). However, such heights can only be gained by the heroine experiencing the worst the world can offer, coming through refined and purified (51). The second have female protagonists who place less emphasis on femininity and more on sexual freedom, and who are usually tense and neurotic (51).

Most discussions on the conventions of New Woman fiction emanate from Britain and the United States, and centre on a figure which grew out of European traditions. The growing mythos of the "bush girl" in Australia, however, gave rise to an antipodean equivalent: the "Australian girl." Life in the colonies was different from that in Britain, and girls tended to have more freedom of movement, at least until they reached puberty (Ferres 3). Susan Magarey cites the emergent, strong, tomboyish Australian girl's appearance in works by Tasma, and considers that she is often balanced against the sweet, attentive girl, who is the Australian version of the "Angel in the House" (105–07). Virginia Woolf describes the Angel in the House (a term applied to the ideal and feminine woman)[8] as follows:

> She was intensely sympathetic. She was immensely charming. She was utterly unselfish. She excelled in the difficult arts of family life. She sacrificed herself daily. If there was a chicken, she took the leg; if there was a draught she sat in it—in short she was so constituted that she never had a mind or a wish of her own, but preferred to sympathize always with the minds and wishes of others. Above all—I need not say it—she was pure. Her purity was supposed to be her chief beauty—her blushes, her great grace. In those days—the last of Queen Victoria—every house had its Angel. (285)

It is perhaps reasonable to say that fictional New Women, whether in novel, short story, or play, are as varied, and exist in as wide-ranging sets of circumstances, as their factual counterparts. This is not so for the other manifestation of the New Woman, who existed only on paper. The "new" fiction provoked considerable controversy, and the more it was discussed, the more the New

Woman began entering the realms of myth. Grand's 1894 article, for example, together with an antagonistic response by social critic Ouida, occasioned considerable public debate.[9] The supposed antics of the New Woman became a recurrent music hall theme, both as ridicule and tribute (Bratton 86). In the guise of women with "errant sexuality" (that is, having or wanting sex outside marriage), she appeared as the fallen woman, an aspect of the woman question addressed most consistently in 1890s theatre (Chothia Introduction xiii). Some researchers, such as Ardis, consider that at some time in the late 1890s the New Woman left the real world and, together with the whole woman question, became a "strictly literary affair" (12).

The New Woman was much satirised in *Punch* magazine, which saw her as an object of mirth.[10] Most editions of the time had some reference to her, if not a cartoon (Chothia Introduction x; Gardner *Plays* vii). Posters for Grundy's play *The New Woman* formed the stereotyped image which was to become ubiquitous, with the help of *Punch*: a severe young woman in black, wearing pince-nez, and holding a cigarette and a key (Gardner *Sisters* 2). She is surrounded by "images of the 'disorderly notions' that crowd her imagination and the source of those notions," including the works of Ibsen (with a particular warning against *A Doll's House*), and the *Yellow Book* (Gardner *Sisters* 4).[11] Both the social phenomenon and her literary counterpart came to be seen as a "malicious invention of journalists" (Cunningham 11). The woman struggling to be heard, whether through education, employment, suffrage, or any other means, was often simply treated with amused tolerance (12).

One woman who was very deliberately operating outside the private sphere was the actress. She could wear male attire without censure, and could portray women as both angels and demons. In an era when it was considered proper for women to conform to strict social conventions, it was acceptable for the woman on the stage to be seen, to be heard, and to be adulated in a very public way.

The New Woman on Stage

Although the phenomenon of the New Woman is recognised as emerging in the late 1800s, it has been claimed by some academics that actresses had anticipated that emergence, because women in

theatre had for centuries been acting, managing, and writing in a male-dominated profession. The first British professional actress appeared on stage in London in about 1661 (Bush-Bailey 15). Her name is not known, but *Brewer's Dictionary of Fame and Fable* suggests that she played Desdemona in *Othello* at a theatre in Clare Market. Since then, actresses have lived with the need to balance careers and conventions. They are accustomed to crossing the boundaries between private and public. Behind the curtain is the private: self, personal relationships, and family. In front is the public: the performer, and the characters represented. The lines between those boundaries can blur. Betty Hennings, the first actress to play Nora in *A Doll's House* at its Copenhagen premiere on 21 December 1879, became known as "*the* 'Ibsen Woman'" because of the play's—and Nora's—impact on the audience (Templeton 112; emphasis in original). A similar conflation was to occur with Achurch and Nora.

Although male-dominated, theatre life offered women some degree of independence. Grant Allen, the author of *The Woman Who Did*[12] (the inspiration for the title of this thesis) reports remarking to George Bernard Shaw, during a play in London in 1891, on "the oddity of the change that had come over the world when ladies . . . took to the boards by choice as a serious profession" (4). Shaw replies, "She's chosen the only career in life where a woman at present can assert her individuality" (qtd. in Allen 4). Allen goes on to say, "And I saw at a glance he was right. Elsewhere a woman can creep in and take a subordinate post. On the stage alone can she assert herself as man's equal, or even man's superior, with perfect truth and untrammelled freedom" (4).

That freedom came at a price: the perception that acting was not quite a respectable career for women – as witness, Allen's surprise at the change that permitted "ladies" (as opposed to women in general) to join the theatre. Actresses were still to a great extent perceived as having low moral character: "actress and prostitute remained almost synonymous" (Stokes, Booth and Bassnett 3). Perceptions were gradually changing, however, and by the early twentieth century, many of the women entering the profession were from middle-class backgrounds, and well-educated (Gardner *Sisters* 8). One result was that the respect afforded women acting on stage gradually increased (Sutherland 102).

Theatre was approaching respectability and legitimacy, and women's role in it was becoming socially acceptable.

Many actresses became actively involved in political movements. Female dramatists, often themselves actresses, were engaging "more directly with political issues in their drama," particularly topics that were of concern to society (Gardner *Sisters* 10). An example is actress and dramatist Elizabeth Robins's *Votes for Women* (1893). Robins, an American actress, was herself a "Girton girl" and Ibsen champion; she was also to work with Achurch in England after her return from Australia.

Eileen Hoare notes that Achurch, in her role as Nora, is credited as the first of the New Women ("New Woman" 2). Although other actresses before her had played Nora (Betty Hennings, for instance), Achurch certainly presented the first New Woman to appear in dramatic fiction and herself fits the profile of a New Woman. Viv Gardner suggests, however, that actresses by their choice of lifestyle had in a way pre-empted the New Woman:

> Women in the theatre had anticipated the challenge of the New Woman to the establishment. Whilst the feminist movement of the 1890s brought new momentum and focus to the Woman Question, these theatrical women had already subverted normal expectations of female behaviour – often at the expense of their own reputation and social position – and many were ready to grasp the opportunities offered by the New Woman movement for more substantial freedoms. (*Sisters* 12)

Many actresses, while not always openly stating their antipathy to the New Woman, did not identify with the concept. Ellen Terry is known to have owned and "profusely annotated" a book expressing high ideals of Victorian womanhood (Booth 71–72). Terry is quoted in the English *New Review* for June 1891 (reproduced in the *South Australian Register* on 24 July 1891) as saying that she would rather not have anything to do with "Dr. Ibsen's foolish women" – that is, Nora, and Hedda Gabler ("Dramatic Notes" 7). Others did identify with the New Woman, but had to undertake roles "diametrically opposed" to their beliefs (Gardner *Sisters* 3). Winifred Emery, who played the role of the womanly "real woman" (as opposed to the "unwomanly" New Woman) in Grundy's *The New*

Woman, was later a member of the Actresses' Franchise League, which was formed in England in 1908 (Gardner *Sisters* 3).

Whether or not all actresses before the mid to late 1880s can be categorised as New Women, many do fit the definition of women who were seeking identity, independence, and freedom of choice. They were members of a profession which still had a small taint of disrespectability. Although they may already have subverted acceptable and "normal" female behaviour, they were still subject to the prejudices and dictates of a society where they had little or no control over much of their lives. Together with the other members of their sex, however, many of them were working towards making the theatre a legitimate forum for discussion of issues which were of concern to women, and to society as a whole. Achurch is representative of those women: in choosing to enter an unconventional profession, and in presenting drama that addressed contemporary women's issues.

Despite the trivialisation of the struggles of those women who sought fulfilment as individuals beyond what was traditional as a "woman question," the status of women in Western society was changing as the nineteenth century advanced. The Married Women's Property Act (1882) was opening doors for women's legal rights. Sex was discussed more freely, and experimentation was no longer the domain of the male. Women from all walks of life were taking up the cause of franchise, and the first waves of feminism were starting to ripple. Entrance to tertiary education was opening up for women. The possibilities for respected careers on the stage, in medicine, and in other professions were expanding.

The New Woman embodied this groundswell of change. To a great extent, she also bore the brunt of the concomitant groundswell of protest against the change. The New Woman of fiction may have in part devolved into a grotesque stereotype, but the genre was the textualised voice of a changing social mood. *A Doll's House* is one such expression.

Précis of *A Doll's House*

The plot of *A Doll's House* is easily told. It is the story of a woman who realises that she must leave her husband and children in order to learn about herself. The action takes place over three days at

Christmas. The main characters are a young married couple, Nora and Torvald Helmer. Nora's life revolves around her husband, her three children, and her home. She shops for gifts, trims the tree, and practises the tarantella to dance at a neighbour's party. Torvald's life revolves around his career. He is soon to move into a senior position at his workplace, a position that will finally give him a comfortable income.

Torvald controls the family budget, sparingly providing funds to Nora for household and personal expenses. Any extra she obtains from Torvald by cajolery. As the play opens, Nora is depicted as coquettish, compliant, and happy in her role. Torvald is shown as masterly but indulgent, up to a point. Unbeknown to her husband, who considers her unable to practise economy, rather than squandering money Nora is repaying a secret loan by sacrificing part of her dress allowance, and undertaking copying work late at night. Torvald discovers the loan after full repayment is demanded from Nora by the moneylender. He also learns that Nora obtained the funds, to enable a life-saving trip for Torvald when he was mortally ill, by forging her dying father's signature. He is furious, concerned that her "crime," if it became public, would ruin him. His reaction breaks her trust that he would understand and support her in her time of crisis.

She awakens to the realisation that she has always been treated as a plaything, first by her father, and then by her husband, and that she herself has colluded with them. She realises that she has been perpetuating it with her own children. She resolves that to become a fit wife, mother, and member of society, she must first become a fit human being. She must attempt it alone, unless a miracle occurs, and Torvald treats her as a person: an equal, rather than a doll. The miracle does not occur, and Nora leaves. Where the play opens on a scene of merriment, it closes on a scene of desolation.

A Doll's House as a New Woman play

New Woman fiction has been placed within or alongside many other genres. As Young suggests, writers were writing for as wide a market as possible, and it therefore "makes sense" for New Woman fiction to "spill over into other popular genres" (41). Young places writer Dorothy L. Sayers's 1930s detective novels, for example, among New Woman writings. Ardis sites Hardy's *Tess of the*

D'Urbervilles (1891) as both New Woman and romance, and also examines Allen's *The Woman Who Did* (1895) as erotica. Robert Dixon examines George Firth Scott's *The Last Lemurian* (1898) as a "lost race" romance, and Praed's *Fugitive Anne* (1902) as adventure. Susan K. Martin places Millie Finkelstein's *The Newest Woman* (1895) within a framework of millennial utopian fiction.

A Doll's House did not fit any of the traditional categories. For most critics writing for Australian newspapers during Achurch's tour it was simply a drama, or a tragedy. One columnist in Rockhampton's *Morning Bulletin* of 7 October 1889 refers to the play as a "domestic tragedy" ("Dorothy's Letter" 3). It was not a melodrama: it did not provide the continuous action preferred by playgoers, according to the *Argus* critic for the premiere of *Doll's House* in Melbourne ("Princess's: 'Doll'" 6). Nor was Nora the type of heroine to which the public was accustomed. The melodramatic heroine, according to Susan Barstow, is "passive, innocent, and all-suffering"; she endures calamity after calamity, and at last "dies a pitiful but noble death or is miraculously rescued by the strong, manly hero" (389). Nora, like Ibsen's other New Women Hedda and Rebecca, is not rescued, even miraculously, but must make her own way, deciding her own ultimate fate.

A Doll's House is accepted now as a play of the New Woman genre. Gardner specifically names *Doll's House*, *Hedda Gabler*, and *Rosmersholm* as examples of the genre (*Sisters* 3–11). Chothia, in *The New Woman and Other Emancipated Women Plays*, includes both *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* as New Woman plays, with *Doll's House* the first chronologically ("Chronology" xxxv). Hoare, one of the few to examine the concept of the New Woman in theatre from an Australian perspective, also discusses *Doll's House* as a New Woman play.

The play's protagonist fits the general model of the New Woman. When *Doll's House* was first staged in London Nora was denounced by conservative critics as depraved, unwomanly, and an example of "the dangers of education for females" (Chothia Introduction ix). Worse: for the female protagonist, married and a mother, to leave the marital home to find her own identity was to go against the "natural" order. A woman's role was to conceive, give birth, and nurture her young: she was biologically built for it. "Even as the New Woman emerged in *fin-de-siècle* Europe, staking a claim for

equality and inclusion in the public sphere," comments Alisa Solomon, "science was slamming the door on her exit from the home" (47). Freud and others were promoting the idea that "anatomy is destiny" and that "marriage and motherhood had nothing to do with choice or social pressure" (47). Nora, by resisting the roles of wife and mother, was therefore "abnormal" and "monstrous" (47). She was also attacked on moral grounds. She was obviously neurotic, unstable, greedy, and a liar, impulsive, and childish (Templeton 115). In other words, she committed the "crimes" of which the New Woman was accused.

Solomon suggests that not only was Nora seen as overstepping the boundaries of what was considered womanly, but also of what was "artistic" in drama (46). Nora is characterised as an actress throughout the play. Her seeming innocent happiness in wifehood and motherhood, while secretly committing forgery and moonlighting for money; dressing in costume to dance the tarantella; the sudden realisation that she had been playing a part assigned by her father and husband; the final dramatic exit: all intimate the scripted role of an actress. Nora is thus doubly tainted in the eyes of some: as a wayward wife, and as a member of a profession not quite respectable.

Barstow takes issue with Beerbohm's suggestion that, in Nora, the New Woman "sprang fully armed from Ibsen's brain" (397). "What [actually] sprang from Ibsen's brain . . . was not the New Woman as a positive entity," Barstow contends, "but an embodied refusal of the ideals and tenets of conventional Victorian womanliness" (397). That Ibsen had based the plot of *Doll's House* on the real-life story of a family friend indicates that he was dramatising an existing social issue. An examination of the text bears this out.

The theme of *A Doll's House* is one of female submission to and flouting of conventions. It deals with issues of social expectations, equality of the sexes, wifehood, motherhood, and the quest for identity. The play begins with Nora as ostensibly conventional, content in her role as wife and mother. It is gradually revealed over three acts that she has been subverting this seeming compliance, and as the play progresses she more and more overtly oversteps the boundaries of "proper" behaviour. By the end of the play, Nora is openly questioning where her paramount duties lie: with society, her husband,

her children, or herself. When the hope of equality with her husband is not realised, she ponders her alternatives: continuing submission to the constrictions of social conventions; death; or a search for individuality and independence. She concludes that to be a fit member of society, she first needs to understand and be true to herself.

For Nora, the tension between social expectations and personal desires come to a climax when dancing the tarantella. She has been taught the dance by Torvald, in preparation for a performance for guests at the neighbour's party. However, she oversteps the boundaries of what is right and proper, and performs with what Torvald calls "a little too much nature" (Ibsen *Doll* 3.1). Her awakening is symbolised by the removal of the dancing costume, or what she calls "my doll's dress" (*Doll* 3.1).

That women were seeking recognition of self beyond the traditional roles is evidenced in a letter published in the *South Australian Register* on 18 December 1889, in response to a recent performance of *Doll's House*. The correspondent, although not in sympathy with the plot or the protagonist, points out what must have been a part of prevailing social discourse: "Women are saying that the play is a vindication of their right to individuality" (Nesbit 6). Although the term "New Woman" does not appear in the letter or in any other published during Achurch's tour, the idea of women's search for independence and identity already existed.

By the early 1900s, women's involvement in suffrage and feminist movements meant that the New Woman was no longer "new," and the fiction, no longer *avant garde*, faded from popularity. There was a brief resurgence in the 1920s and 1930s, but the genre had once more, and permanently, disappeared by the Second World War. Despite the changing fortunes of the New Woman figure, *A Doll's House* has retained its popularity and currency, and continues to be staged today.

Chapter 2 introduces Achurch, the woman who brought *A Doll's House* to the English-speaking world, in England and Australia. She also was a friend of key figures in the late nineteenth century literary world. The chapter therefore also introduces dramatist Henrik Ibsen; translator William Archer; and playwright George Bernard Shaw. Each of these *dramatis personae* had a role to play in the meta-drama of Achurch's tour, and the introduction of *A Doll's House* to Australian audiences.

Chapter 2: *Dramatis Personae*

On Sunday, 16 June 1889, George Bernard Shaw sat next to Janet Achurch and her husband Charles Charrington at a dinner in London to celebrate the successful staging of William Archer's translation of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. In a few weeks' time, Achurch was to leave England for a tour of Australia under contract to theatre managers Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove (known as "the triumvirate"). The intersection of her life with those of Ibsen, Archer, and Shaw, and with the triumvirate, had a profound effect on Achurch's future. It also had a profound effect on theatre in Australia. Achurch was the right person, with the right supporters, at the right point of her career, to bring the New Woman to the new country. Each player in the meta-drama of her 1889-91 tour was among the best of the best. This chapter tells why.

Achurch: actress, entrepreneur, playwright, wife, and mother. Ibsen: poet, playwright, and painter. Archer: translator. Shaw: enthusiastic supporter. Each of these *dramatis personae* is important, not only to Achurch's story, but to the story of women's contribution to the theatre in Australia. Without the intersection of their lives, the history of the theatre in this country may have been very different. Achurch's abilities set her feet on the path to stardom, piquing the interest of the triumvirate. Ibsen's works helped cement her growing reputation in London, and aided her in becoming an acknowledged luminary in the Antipodes. Archer's relationship with Ibsen, and his professional and capable rendering of Ibsen's works into English, enabled Achurch to bring *A Doll's House* to the London and Australian stages. Shaw's enthusiasm and support aided Achurch to advance her career, and to bring Ibsen's works (and with them the New Woman), to the New World, at a time when women's issues were of concern to Western society. By presenting those issues in dramatic form on the Australian stage, particularly through *A Doll's House,* Achurch confirmed that Australia was not a cultural backwater but was at the forefront of literary innovation.

Information for this chapter, especially in relation to details of Achurch's stage appearances, has of necessity been drawn from a multitude of sources including theatre dictionaries and research texts, as well as publications (including newspaper articles) contemporary to, or shortly after, Achurch's

tour. The sources include works by Bernard Ince,[13] Michael Meyer (*Ibsen*), Peter Whitebrook (*William Archer*), and Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (*The First Fabians*). Historical data are therefore provided without references, except where directly quoted.

Janet Achurch

Achurch left home at eighteen to pursue a career on the stage. It brought her fame and helped bring about a watershed in theatrical history. It also brought her to Australia from 1889 to 1891, where *A Doll's House* helped cement her success as an actress. Later challenges on and off stage clouded her earlier promise, and problems with health and addictions led to her death at age 53, in 1916. As a daughter, wife, and mother, she had an understanding of society's expectations of women. Her talent as an actress, coupled with expert training and experience, provided her with an ability to relate to an audience, both on and off the stage, creating a trust to which playgoers responded. This in turn permitted her to present sometimes controversial topics in dramatic form.

From Australia's perspective, Achurch's life was in three stages: pre-tour, on-tour, and post-tour. Clement Scott notes in 1887 that "Miss Achurch is devoted to her art, and spares no labour in endeavouring to perfect herself in it. During the last two years she has appeared with success in at least forty leading characters" ("Omnibus" 225–26). Mr Scott's estimate may have been a little under: Ince suggests that by June 1889, only two years later, she had played over two hundred roles ("Before Ibsen" 67).[14] Little work has been undertaken to chronicle Achurch's formative years, or on her years in Australia; most concentrate on her later years, after she became famous in the role of Nora. As Ince notes, her early stage history and relationships are "outside the theatrical events that defined her career but they significantly influenced the direction she chose" (67). This, then, is the first, pre-tour part of her story, from her birth, to her departure for Australia.

Janet Sharp was born on 17 January 1863 at 47 Richmond Grove, Chorlton upon Medlock in Lancashire, England, the youngest of six children.[15] Her mother, Jane Sharp (nee Thomson) died four days later and her father, William Prior Sharp, an insurance agent, raised the children alone. None of her immediate forebears were connected with the theatre. However, her paternal great-grandparents

were tragedienne Sarah Ward, nee Hoare (1756–1838) and Thomas Achurch Ward (1749–1835). Thomas was known as Romeo Ward, both for his handsome face, and for his success in acting that particular Shakespearean character. It was from this great-grandfather that Achurch adopted her stage name.

Achurch early evinced an interest in becoming an actress. In 1881, despite paternal disapproval Achurch, by now a "striking-looking young woman" of eighteen, was sent to study with Sarah Thorne at Margate (Salmon n.pag.). In the spring of 1882 Achurch became a student at the School of Dramatic Art in London. She studied under Scottish actress Isabella Glyn and actor/playwright Paul Martinetti, and came to know Madge and William Kendal. While at the School Achurch was noticed by song-writer and novelist (Charles) Hamilton Aide, who procured her first engagement under Genevieve Ward, then manager of the Olympic Theatre. Her first role was as Mrs Mouser in the farce *Betsy Baker; or Too Attentive by Half* on 8 January 1883. She worked her way up to leading parts, leaving the Olympic when Ward left for a world tour in December 1883.

From the start, Achurch gained a wide grounding in theatrical performance and many genres. From autumn 1883 and into early 1884 she travelled in the English provinces, playing a variety of roles. The year 1884 was a particularly hard time for Achurch. She had rejoined the Sarah Thorne Company, having been promised leading parts if she played the Fairy Queen in a pantomime. She took the part reluctantly, but found the work and the constant travelling exhausting. She took a period of rest, and then returned to the company for another year, this time playing leading roles.

She also experienced the exigencies of an unhappy marriage. On 25 May 1884, in Margate, Achurch married St Aubyn Miller, the actor son of James Miller, an army officer.[16] The marriage was a failure and the couple separated after seven months. It would be several years before she married again, this time to Charles Charrington, with whom she was to form the Achurch-Charrington Company for the Australian tour.[17] Charrington had been acting for two years when they met in August 1884 in Margate. A barrister by training, he had given up the law for the stage. His name first appeared in the press on 6 May 1882, in *Era* magazine (page 16), when performing as Bertie Scott in

George R. Sims's comedy, *The Halfway House*, while touring with Sarah Thorne's company. Achurch and he played the northern counties and Scotland together for some time, with various companies. Most of the appearances were in the English provinces, with a few in London.[18]

Early in 1885 Achurch left Thorne and joined Henry Dundas, Thorne's son-in-law, with whom she toured from February. From August until December, she joined Frank Benson, after having worked with him briefly in April. St Aubyn Miller, to whom she was still married, had just left that company. While with Benson, Achurch's repertoire expanded to include Shakespeare.

Achurch's acting career began to soar in 1886. She made her first real coup on the London stage in the role of Mercy Merrick in a charity matinee of *The New Magdalen* on 15 April 1886. She "took the town by storm," and it was from then that her name "became identified with the London stage, at the various theatres of [sic] which she regularly appeared" ("Miss Janet Achurch" 3). She undertook a fourteen week tour following her success as Mercy (Scott "Omnibus" 225). Achurch and Charrington were by now cohabiting as well as acting together. In December 1886, they produced *Frou-Frou*, their first collaboration, at the Comedy Theatre in Manchester.

The next two years, 1887 and 1888, were spent with various companies in London and touring in the provinces, often with very tight schedules. In January 1887 Achurch had a two-month engagement in London; closing there one Saturday, she opened at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh on Monday. She was back in London in early June, at the Comedy Theatre under engagement to Herbert Beerbohm Tree. On 12 July she had "great success" in a matinee premiere of *Devil Caresfoot* at the Vaudeville (Scott "Omnibus" 225). "In this play," comments "Triumvir" in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1889, "she 'brought down the house,' as the saying is, by and [sic] intense and sensational scream at the end of the second act" ("Art, Music" 7). The following week she performed with the Farren-Conway company at the Strand Theatre. She worked again with Tree at the Haymarket Theatre early in 1888, and by mid-year was appearing at the Olympic in London, where Shaw first saw her perform. On 3 December 1888, St Aubyn Miller petitioned for divorce, citing Achurch's adultery with Charrington (Ince *Achurch Chronology* 30).

Janet Achurch

The Theatre magazine, October 1887 (Scott *Theatre* n.pag.)

The first few months of 1889 were spent at the Crystal Palace in a variety of roles, from farce to Shakespeare. Over this time, too, the Charringtons were working towards management of their own company, and were assisting Archer in producing an English translation of *A Doll's House*. Early in 1889 they took a lease over the Novelty Theatre in Great Queen Street, Holborn, with the plan to stage afternoon performances of plays that perhaps would not attract night-time patrons.

Novelty Theatre, circa 1882[19]

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It was also during this period that negotiations were conducted with the Australian firm of Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove for a two-year tour of Australia, which had been recommended to Achurch by Genevieve Ward. The triumvirate had a reputation for bringing good artists to Australia.[20] Williamson in particular was to make his name one of the best known in Australian theatre: the company he later formed is still known as "The Firm" (Carroll 50). Musgrove, a skilled manager, had made several trips to England in search of novelties. The paths of Achurch and Musgrove crossed in 1887, when Achurch was performing in *Devil Caresfoot*. Musgrove was "particularly anxious to

engage" Achurch but negotiations failed because she wished to select her own roles ("Engagements" 5).

On 16 November 1888, Garner travelled to England to update the firm on the newest theatrical innovations ("Return of Garner" 6). He was under instructions to engage Achurch, which he did, after overcoming the same difficulties that had impeded earlier negotiations ("Engagements" 5). Charrington also was engaged, and the couple was booked to sail on 21 June 1889, to open on 1 September 1889 at the triumvirate's New Princess's Theatre in Melbourne in *Devil Caresfoot* ("Engagements" 5). The success of *A Doll's House* at the Novelty, however, changed their plans.

This was the play's English debut. Archer had attempted to introduce the playwright's works to the London stage, but with little success. There had been "a few obscure or bowdlerized productions" during the 1880s (Williams 167). None of these was in a version sympathetic to Ibsen's original scripts. Achurch had read much of his work in German and had, according to Hart, studied *Doll's House* so well that Nora nearly became second-nature to her ("Ibsen: Interpreters" 13). The Charringtons commissioned Archer to translate *Doll's House* into a version more in keeping with the original Norwegian. The plan was to stage it for a week before leaving London for Australia.

The venture was undertaken on limited means. The Charringtons each mortgaged their future salaries for £25, and borrowed another £100, raising sufficient for seven performances. The theatre was small, and stage furnishings sparse. Furniture was bought cheaply, or borrowed. Some of it was loaned by Archer, who was responsible for the set; a chair, a mirror, and a vase came from his own home. Cotton wool simulated snow on the window ledges, but a real "Lindbergian" door was installed, to ensure an "authentic slam" at the end of the play (Whitebrook 86).[21] The cast were: Nora Helmer: Janet Achurch; Torvald Helmer: Herbert Waring; Dr Rank: Charles Charrington; Krogstad: Royce Carleton; Mrs Linden: Miss Gertrude Warden; and Anna: Miss B. Eversleigh.

That Friday, 7 June 1889, was a defining moment for both Achurch and Ibsen. Achurch's appearance as Nora cemented her position as an actress ("Miss Janet Achurch" 3). Granville Barker, contemporary critic, producer, and playwright, considered the production "the most dramatic theatrical

event of the decade" (Salmon n.pag.). The weather was inclement, and friends and supporters helped boost audience numbers, including Archer, Shaw, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, and other Fabians. Also present were Norwegian actresses, tragedienne Fru Gendersen and Froken Reimers, and writer Olive Schreiner. Schreiner's 1883 novel, *The Story of an African Farm*, is now considered among the first of the New Woman genre (Ledger 80). According to Whitebrook, Elizabeth Robins commented after the performance that, despite the poverty of the stage setting, the small audience, and several little-known actors, she considered *Doll's House* "the most thrilling and thrillingly produced contemporary play she had seen" (93). Robins was later to stage and perform in many Ibsen plays in London.

Reports were uniformly glowing for Achurch. According to Triumvir in the *Sydney Morning Herald* shortly before her arrival in Australia, Achurch's success was "electrical," and every paper "praised her playing of this part with as great gusto as the piece itself was condemned" ("Art, Music" 7). She made a "complete success . . . in the part of Nora, the child-wife" (A.B. 9). Her physical appearance, as well as her acting abilities and thorough understanding of the play and the part, contributed to her success. A slight woman, almost petite, with fair, Anglo-Saxon good looks, she fitted the image of a Scandinavian beauty. She had a restlessness that translated well into the role of the young wife she portrayed.

That role was, while Achurch's professed favourite, also one of her most difficult. In an interview published in London's *Pall Mall Gazette* and reproduced in the *South Australian Register* of 24 August 1889, she notes:

> "[*A Doll's House*] has taken a great deal out of me, and if it had gone on much longer I should have broken down. It is the hardest part I have ever played. . . . [T]o go through it eight times a week is too great a strain. We had a morning performance every Wednesday and Saturday, and to go through such a piece twice a day twice a week has told somewhat seriously on me. I like Nora better than about 200 rôles I have filled since I first appeared on the stage." (qtd. in "Dramatic Notes" 3)

She confirms her joy in her chosen profession, with the caveat that it is a "hard profession even at the best," and to succeed, "one must have such a consuming love for acting that all obstacles are mere incentives to persevere" (3). The *Gazette* credits the play's successful run to her acting.

Despite admiration for the actress, the character she played was widely condemned. The play opens with Nora as happy wife, mother and homemaker, and closes with her leaving the matrimonial home in order to discover who she is. According to Simon Williams, critic Clement Scott considered that her example would not be admired in wives and mothers (170). A London correspondent to the Melbourne *Argus,* indignant at Nora's perception of having been treated as a plaything, is scathing of her behaviour, and attacks the women in the audience: "No one treats his wife as a doll in England, unless she is a doll. If she is not, she wouldn't stand it. . . . Of all the hundred and fifty women who went to the opening night of the play, there were not five whom any man with visual organs would choose as a plaything" ("Social Gossip" 4).

The play did not attract critical acclaim. The same correspondent opines, "all that is right in thinking and sane in criticism pronounces it absurd, tedious, morbid, mischievous . . ." ("Social Gossip" 4). British critic and playwright Robert Buchanan is even stronger in his condemnation, as reported in the *Pall Mall* of 13 June 1889 (reproduced in the *Brisbane Courier* on 9 August 1889). According to Buchanan, *Doll's House* presented "half a dozen equally disagreeable characters who are supposed to represent average human nature" (qtd. in "Dramatic Gossip" 7). He found the play to justify his earlier opinion of the "crude unintelligence of Ibsen's dramatic method" (qtd. in 7).

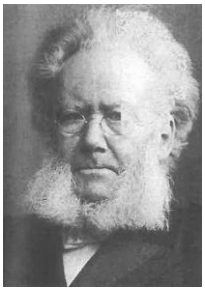
Notwithstanding antagonism, the play attracted sufficient interest that departure for Australia was postponed. The original one week season extended to three weeks, and seventeen performances. The investment was almost recouped: takings were about £40 a night, and by the end of the season it was calculated they had lost only about £70. The Charringtons offered £500 to their Australian agents to release them from the contract but were refused. Despite indications that the play could have enjoyed an extended run in London, the production closed. On 18 June 1889 St Aubyn Miller was granted a divorce, and on 28 June, Achurch and Charrington were married at the Registry Office,

Chelsea. The final performance of *Doll's House* was staged the next day, and on Friday, 5 July 1889 Achurch and Charrington left London for Australia.

Achurch had gained experience in performing to a variety of audiences, in a variety of theatres, and in a variety of plays. Like stars today, she had become known for her abilities, and her personal achievements and losses. She was to bring her wealth of experience to Australia, and that part of her story, and her contributions to the stage and the women of this country, are told in following chapters.

Ibsen's biography is well-known. To give Achurch's story context and texture, however, it is worth reviewing the key details of his life. It was a life of perseverance and hard work, filled with controversy and striving, and, eventually, fame. His artistic talents combined with a deep interest in the social questions of his times to create a new form of dramatic construction that moved away from romanticised denouements and exposed the underside of society – much to society's chagrin. In his plays, *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler*, as well as in *Rosmersholm,* he lays bare some of the hidden issues with which contemporary women contended. Today his plays may seem tame and his messages obscure, but they were for their time controversial, and to society's eyes, stark and shocking.

Henrik Johan Ibsen



Henrik Ibsen (Whitebrook photo 8)

Ibsen went from obscurity to national and then international recognition, for the power of his plays, and for the dramatic innovations he pioneered, helped not a little by the controversies which followed him throughout most of his life. His dramatic plots shocked established Western society, and his innovations pioneered a revolution in the way plays were constructed and performed. His interest in the freedom of the individual extended to the lives of women and workers. Ibsen has so many texts available on bookshelves and websites on the Internet dedicated to his name, comprising his works,

biographies, academic treatises, arguments, and commentaries, that it is impossible to study and précis them all, or even a minute proportion. Among the myriad of possibilities, none includes an autobiography, despite his stated intention to write one.

Henrik Johan Ibsen was born in the seaport town of Skein, one of Norway's oldest cities, on 20 March 1828. His storekeeper father, Knud Ibsen, was fairly prosperous until a series of bad investments left the family in impecunious circumstances by 1836. Leaving school at fifteen in late 1843, and precluded from attending university by his family's penury, Ibsen entered into an apprenticeship with an apothecary in Grimstad, on the north shore of the Skaggerak. Here, at age eighteen, he had an illegitimate child by Else Jensdatter, daughter of a gentleman farmer and a servant of the apothecary. A "sulky, unsociable child" and "a dreamy, emphatic youth," Ibsen grew to be a "difficult young man" ("H. Ibsen: Appreciation" 5).

In 1850, the twenty-two year old moved to Christiania (now Oslo) to study for university entrance. He became known for his art work, being more interested in "perusing satires and sketching caricatures of his fellow townsmen" than in studying medicine ("Henrik Ibsen" 4). Apart from some early unpublished poems, Ibsen made his debut as a playwright with *Catiline*, written over the winter of 1848–49 under the pseudonym Brynjolf Bjarme, and published in 1850. A friend paid the costs of publication because of Ibsen's financial situation. Only thirty copies found buyers, and the remainder had to be sold for waste paper. The play reissued in 1875. One of the characters, Aurelia, was, according to Asbjørn Aarseth, "the embodiment of unselfish love," and the other, Furia, represented "heedless and destructive ambition" (3). These characters indicated an early interest in the two types of women who figured in his later social plays. While at university, Ibsen helped launch a literary journal, *Manden* ("the Man"; later renamed *Andhrimmer*). In this short-lived journal was published his first satire, *Norma or a Politician's Love* (Hanssen n.pag.).

Ibsen did not continue his studies, and 1851 marked the beginning of his lifelong association with the theatre. He was hired as theatre poet at the Norwegian National Theatre at Bergen, recently instituted by violinist Ole Bull. His main duty was to touch up old plays and write new ones. He stayed

at the theatre for six years, during which time he wrote several more plays and poems. In 1858, Ibsen married Suzannah Thoresen,[22] and the following year their only child, Sigrid, was born.

Leaving Bergen in the summer of 1857, and still writing, Ibsen returned to Christiania. Here, he took on the role of aesthetic adviser to the Norwegian Theatre, producing several of his own plays. In 1862 the theatre went bankrupt, and Ibsen was appointed consultant to the Norwegian Theatre of Christiania. By the time he was thirty-five, his financial situation was again precarious. He continued to write, but his plays had no large market: the Norwegian literary public was small, and he was as yet almost unknown outside his own country.

Ibsen was becoming increasingly disenchanted with Norway. He was often at odds with his fellow Norwegians, portraying them far differently from the pastoral idyll depicted in tourist publications. Feeling "pessimistic disgust" at the country standing aloof when its "ancient friend, rival, and blood-relation" Denmark was overrun by Germany, he went into voluntary exile in 1864 ("Henrik Ibsen" 4). He lived in Rome, Dresden, and Munich until he returned to Norway in 1891.

In 1866, Ibsen wrote and published his tragedy in verse, *Brand*. This poem was to feature in Charrington's lectures in Australia. Although it occasioned more discussion and debate in Scandinavia than had any other book, it was popular, and relieved Ibsen's ongoing financial troubles. Ibsen was awarded an annual pension, an artist's stipend of £100, by the Storthing (Norwegian government). During this period he also wrote and published *Peer Gynt* (1867), for which composer Edmund Grieg would later write a musical score (at Ibsen's request), now known as the *Peer Gynt Suite*. *The Young Men's Union* (now known as *The League of Youth*) premiered at the Christiania Theatre on 18 October 1869, occasioning "an almost riotous scene of protest against what was supposed to be its political tendency ("Amusements: Ibsen and 'Doll'" 7). It was followed by *Emperor and Galilean,* which was to see Ibsen become the "acknowledged head of literature throughout Scandinavia" ("Dramatist at Bay" 3).

Ibsen was to again wound Norwegian sensibilities in 1877, with *The Pillars of Society*, a play seen as dealing with "the art of respectable swindling" ("Dramatist at Bay" 3). Bjørn Hemmer

suggests *Pillars* is the first of Ibsen's realist problem plays (which include *Doll's House*), in which Ibsen turns a searchlight on nineteenth-century society, "with its facade of false morality and its manipulation of public opinions" (3, 69). *Pillars*, like most of Ibsen's dramas, was translated into German and then into other languages. An adaptation under the name *Quicksand* was staged at the Gaiety Theatre in London on 15 December 1880, the first of Ibsen's plays to be performed in England.

A Doll's House, set at Christmas, was published in Copenhagen on 4 December 1879; from that time, Ibsen issued his plays just prior to the Christmas season. *Doll's House* was first presented on stage at the Royal Theatre in Stockholm on 8 January 1880. Nora, whose character and story were inspired by the real-life circumstances of Ibsen's friend Laura Kieler, was played by Betty Hennings. The play was translated into many European languages, including several English versions, one of which, under the title *Nora*, was written by suffragist Henrietta Frances Lord.

A Doll's House was significant for more than its plot. It was also considered by many of his contemporaries to be the "most perfect" work of dramatic artistry ("Henrik Ibsen" 4). As early as the 1860s Ibsen had been concerned with "details of dramatic machinery," according to contemporary Henry Mencken in 1900 (xi). Over time, his focus on stage direction increased, until "it almost overshadowed the dialogue" (xi). By the time *Doll's House* was written, his new technique had developed to where he had "founded an entirely new order of dramaturgy" (xi). It resulted, on stage, in "an air of utter and absolute reality, an overwhelming conviction, a complete concealment of the dramatic machinery" (xii).

Ghosts, the third of Ibsen's social plays, was written and published in December 1881 ("Dramatist at Bay" 3). Dealing with the hereditary consequences of sexual disease, it was received in Norway with horrified disgust, and even the liberal press denounced it. In 1886 came *Rosmersholm*, the second of Ibsen's social plays in which women's issues were addressed, in this case a psychological probing of the challenges facing single women; it premiered on 17 January 1887 at Den Nationale Scene in Bergen. By now, Ibsen had become influential outside his native country, not only

for his ability to deal with contemporary and controversial social topics, but also as a playwright and dramaturg. Other playwrights such as Jones, Shaw, and Pinero were to follow where Ibsen led, despite a backlash from conservative critics and public. In Germany he was considered to be "equally good in satirical comedy, historical drama, melodrama, and tragedy" ("Theatrical Gossip" 4). In England, Ibsen was being hailed in papers as "a moral and social reformer" who made the stage "his tribune, platform, or pulpit" ("Henrik Ibsen" 4).

His 1885 visit to Norway had included an address to a working-men's club, in which he contended that personal freedom would only come from nobility: that of character and mind, rather than of the aristocracy of birth, purse, or intellect ("Reviews: 'Hedda Gabler'" 6). This nobility, according to Ibsen, would derive from two groups: "our women and our workmen" (qtd. in "Reviews: 'Hedda Gabler'" 6). In 1891 he became a vice-president of the Women's Progressive Society in England, a newly formed association with the aims of abolishing "the political outlawry of women," putting down "sex bias and class prejudice," and improving the "economic position of woman" ("Women's Progressive" 8). In an interview in 1891, however, he denied being a socialist, and considered that if anybody had read dedicated socialism into his plays, then it was purely coincidental (Von Huhn 7).

Hedda Gabler stirred further controversy in November 1890. It was Ibsen's third drama illustrating the position of women in contemporary society; in this instance, the challenges facing women entering loveless marriages for the sake of financial security. It premiered on 31 January 1891 in Munich. Elizabeth Robins, with Marion Lea, staged the first English production three months later, at a matinee at the Vaudeville Theatre in London on 20 April 1891. It was available in written form in Australia in early 1891, and Achurch performed it in Adelaide in August that year.

In 1891 Ibsen returned to Norway, where he remained. He continued to write, despite the breakdown of his marriage. When Suzannah finally left him, she is said to have stated (in echoes of Nora), "I must take care of myself" (Sæther n.pag.). His health was suffering, and he became temporarily deranged while writing his penultimate play, *John Gabriel Borkman*. The play was

completed and published in 1896. Ibsen intimated during his seventieth birthday celebrations in 1898 that his next offering was to be "philosophical in texture," both an autobiography, and an exposition of the "mutual connection" of his plays ("Art and Literature" 9). This work did not eventuate.

His seventieth birthday in 1898 was celebrated at home and abroad. According to a report in the *South Australian Register* on 30 April 1898, the King of Norway, Oscar II, and the populace had expressed their pride in their "distinguished countryman" ("Art and Literature" 9). Germany staged a number of his plays in tribute, and English admirers presented him with items of silver (9). A bronze statue was erected outside the new National Theatre in Christiania in September 1899. It is still there.

He published his final play, *When We Dead Awaken*, in 1899. Despite the acclamation, Ibsen remained a solitary man. He worked in his study each morning, then at one o'clock walked to the Grand Hotel for lunch, sitting at what came to be known as "Ibsen's window" in the Grand Café ("Death of Ibsen" 5). The Grand Hotel now has an Ibsen suite, and they still use the term "Ibsen's window" in their on-line advertising. He suffered a series of strokes, and died in Christiania on 23 May, 1906. He was survived by his wife and son, works of art (from landscapes to cartoons), a collection of poetry, and twenty-six dramatic works.

Ibsen's life could be, from one perspective, an allegory for Nora's. His childhood and young adulthood were spent in his native country, before controversies and disenchantment brought him to a realisation that he needed to distance himself from what was familiar. *A Doll's House* finishes with Nora leaving to discover whether society's expectations were worth embracing; it is left to our own imaginings to finish her story, and either bring her home again, repentant or not, or leave her to find her own way. Ibsen's story continued with him making his mark in literary history, as well as that of his country, to where he returned for his final years. Ibsen did not ever meet Achurch, although there was correspondence between them. He did, however, meet William Archer, who was to be his translator and supporter in England.

William Archer

William Archer, aged 34 (Whitebrook photo 12)

William Archer, theatre critic, pamphleteer, journalist, and translator, met Achurch when she approached him to translate *Ghosts*. He was to be a driving force not only for both Achurch and Ibsen, but for the theatre in England. Coming from a family with Norwegian roots, he was fluent in the language and its idioms, and this, together with a close personal association with Ibsen, made him an able translator of the dramatist's works. His translations, and input into those made by others, were the foundation on which the reputations of Achurch and Ibsen were built in England, America, and Australia.

William Archer was born in Perth, Scotland, on 23 September 1856 to Thomas Archer and Grace Lindsay Archer (nee Morrison). He spent much of his childhood in Norway: his grandparents, William (senior) and Julia Archer had settled in Larvik in 1825. His father was for a time the Agent-General for Queensland. His parents moved to Australia in 1872, while he remained in Scotland, to take up a bursary at Edinburgh University. After graduating with an MA, Archer visited the family at Gracemere in Queensland in 1876, but returned to Edinburgh a year later to study law; he was admitted to the bar in 1883 but did not ever practise.

Archer's lifelong interest in the theatre began when he was ten or eleven. He was later to be associated intimately with the leading lights of the English theatre, including Shaw, Wilde, Jones, and Joyce. He was to have an enormous influence on dramaturgy – his *English Dramatists of Today* (1882) "provided the first substantial critique of contemporary dramatic writing" (Luckhurst 57).

While still at university in 1875, Archer obtained a position at the *Edinburgh Evening News*, and later was theatre critic for the *London Figaro* (1878 to 1881), *The World* (1884 to 1906), and other

leading periodicals, as well as undertaking book reviews and articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Joseph Baylen suggests that "Archer's theatre criticism, over four decades, was second in importance only to his efforts and success in introducing and popularizing the works of Henrik Ibsen in Britain" (559). In fact, he was later awarded a Knight First Class of the Order of St Olav by King Haakon VII of Norway, the highest civil honour which could be granted to a foreign citizen, for his work in introducing Norwegian works to the English-speaking public. Baylen suggests that Archer's family connections to Norway and his command of the language were a major factor in introducing Ibsen to "Britain, . . . the Continent and . . . the United States" (560). I would add, "and to Australia and New Zealand."

Archer first became acquainted with Ibsen's works in 1873. None had been translated into English, but Archer had seen them advertised in bookshops in Norway. At age seventeen, he overheard an aunt discussing *Kjærlighedens Komedie* (*Love's Comedy,* 1862) and bought the book; from that time, he bought each new work as it was published. On 15 December 1880, a single performance of *Pillars of Society*, translated, much abridged, and adapted by Archer, was staged under the title *Quicksands* at a morning performance at the Gaiety Theatre in London. While not a total success, it was significant as the first of Ibsen's plays mounted in England. Archer and Ibsen met in late 1881 at the Scandinavian Club in Rome. They formed, if not a friendship, then a lasting and respectful bond. They were to meet again four times: at Christiania in 1883, Sæby in 1887, Munich in 1890, and Christiania in 1898.

In 1883 Archer met Shaw. Born only two months apart, the young men had much in common, both having insecure lives as children, and both spending long hours alone in the British Museum reading room. Their friendship was to continue until Archer's death in 1924. Archer introduced Shaw to the works of Henrik Ibsen. In his 1891 publication *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*,[23] Shaw acknowledges the "great national service" rendered by Archer in giving "a complete translation of Ibsen's plays" (*Quintessence* 147).

Late in 1888, Archer persuaded Walter Scott to publish the first English volume of Ibsen's works. The volume included Archer's translation of *Pillars*; *An Enemy of the People*, translated by Marx-Aveling under the title *An Enemy of Society*; and *A Doll's House*, translated by Henrietta Frances Lord and edited by Archer. This was the first official version of *Doll's House*. An extremely bowdlerised version had been staged at a matinee on 3 March 1884 at the Prince's Theatre in London. Henry Jones had been approached by Polish actress Helena Modjeska to adapt *Norah* (an earlier version of *Doll's House*) into English. A collaboration between Jones and Henry Herman created a "scarcely recognizable perversion" entitled *Breaking a Butterfly* (Meyer 546). It was produced by Herbert Beerbohm Tree.

After the London premiere of *A Doll's House* in June 1889, Walter Scott issued 115 copies of an "*edition de luxe*," "all of which were immediately absorbed by the public, notwithstanding a somewhat prohibitive price" (Hart "Book: Play" 4). The volume, bound in vellum and printed on parchment paper, contained the full script of the play (translated and edited by Archer) and seven photographs. In it, Archer expresses his thanks to Achurch and Charrington, as well as Henrietta Frances Lord, for their assistance in revising the original draft. This was the version of the drama staged in London and then brought to Melbourne in September 1889.

Archer met Achurch and Charrington in early 1889. With a plan to stage a controversial drama, they asked Archer to help them with an accurate version of *Ghosts*. Archer suggested they stage *A Doll's House* instead. He considered that *Doll's House* would address one aspect of the woman question, a much-discussed political and social topic. Archer had first seen *Et dukkehjem* (*A Doll's House*) at the Christiania Theatre on 22 September 1883. He was also present at *Breaking a Butterfly* in 1884, and a further adaptation, *Nora*, in London a year later.

Archer not only translated and directed *A Doll's House*, he coached Achurch through rehearsals. Archer felt that her first attempts to create "the naturalistic style" required by Ibsen tended towards over-compensation, and that she presented Nora as querulous rather than strong-spirited (Whitebrook 85). His suggested interpretive changes were made, and the opening night was a success. Three weeks

later the Charringtons left for Australia, but joined Archer again in April 1892 upon their return to London.

William Archer was the right translator for *A Doll's House.* Sensitive to Ibsen's cause, he also was steeped in the natural idioms of both Norway and England, and could translate not only Ibsen's literal meaning, but his intent. A well-respected theatre critic, he had strong connections with publishers and the public, through his newspaper columns, and with the contemporary theatrical world. With his help, the stage in England—and then in Australia—became a springboard for a new direction in literature, and in particular, drama presenting issues of importance to women. With his help, too, Achurch was the conduit for such drama. His support was not limited to personal matters, however; he introduced Ibsen's works to Shaw, who would become one of the giants of the English literary world. Shaw's support was to help sustain Achurch during the next few tumultuous years.

George Bernard Shaw

George Bernard Shaw (Whitebrook photo 9)

Shaw—dramatist, novelist, essayist, critic, photographer, socialist, and activist— first saw Achurch in June 1888, and met her a year later. Shaw (1856–1950) was to remain her champion despite the later challenges occasioned by her ill health. At the time of the premiere of *A Doll's House*, Shaw had not yet attained the enduring public acclaim he was to receive, but his influence on the theatre in England was growing, particularly as a founding member of the Fabian Society.

George Bernard Shaw was born on 26 July 1856, in Dublin, to George Carr Shaw and Lucinda Elizabeth Shaw (nee Gurly). After a tumultuous childhood, and working as a cashier in a land agency office, he left Ireland in 1876. He was supported for some time by his mother. He worked in a variety of short-term positions; he also wrote five novels, all of which were rejected for publication. He was

gradually drawn into the society of intellectuals and "eccentric" characters, ranging from sympathisers of the Irish peasantry, to atheists and evolutionists. On 5 September 1882, he attended a meeting held by American journalist Henry George, who was denouncing the greed of landlords in Ireland, and its political domination by the English. Influenced by *Progress and Poverty*, George's evangelical tract, Shaw became convinced that the cause of society's troubles was in the social system itself. He found confirmation in Karl Marx's *Capital*. Shaw had become a socialist.

The Fabian Society formed on 24 October 1883, and by early 1884 had about twenty members. Its mission was to change society, but to do it slowly, taking as their inspiration Roman general Fabius, who withstood Hannibal by avoiding battle.[24] Shaw was recruited to the Society by Hubert Bland in May 1884. He was formally enrolled on 5 September, and elected to the Executive Committee on 2 January 1885. On 16 May Shaw presented seven propositions that were published as the Society's first manifesto.

An early member of the Society was Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Karl Marx's youngest daughter. She and Shaw were to have strong theatrical links, starting with amateur performances staged for socialist meetings. Marx-Aveling had seen *Breaking a Butterfly*, and felt a strong connection with Nora as a woman seeking emancipation in a conventional society; she had aspirations of performing that role in a version of the play truer to the original. She discussed her project with Shaw, and in early 1886 arranged a reading in which she played Nora, Shaw taking the role of Krogstad.

The same year, Marx-Aveling and her husband Edward Aveling published in the *Westminster Review* an article entitled "The Woman Question."[25] It is apparent that the Avelings had been influenced by *A Doll's House* in writing the treatise: in part, the article discusses the commercialisation of marriage and the inequality of husband and wife under legal and moral laws. The close London literary community, much influenced by Darwin, Marx, and Freud, was a fertile environment for development of ideas about changing social situations and questioning of hierarchies, resulting in continual cross-fertilisation of ideas.

It is therefore significant that it was as Hester Prynne that Shaw first saw Achurch two years later in *The Scarlet Letter*, Aveling's dramatic adaptation of Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1850 novel.[26] The novel treats of the different social laws for men and women, in particular the stigma attaching to women (in this case, Hester) who have a child as the result of an adulterous affair. Nina Baym, in her introduction to a 2003 reprint of the novel, sites it among American literature that deals with "the conflict between repressive societies and defiant individuals" (xxiii). The novel ends, as Baym suggests, "on a muted note of hope and faith" (xxiv). The "muted hope" is a pre-echo of Nora's words at the end of *A Doll's House* when she suggests that a miracle could occur to bring Torvald and herself to true marriage. Hester, now in old age a respected confidant and counsellor, assures women of her "firm belief, that, at some brighter period . . . a new truth would be revealed, in order to establish the whole relation between man and woman on a surer ground of mutual happiness" (Hawthorne 227).

Shaw continued to produce lectures for the Fabian Society. He wrote book reviews for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and music articles for the *Dramatic Review*. He became known for his "combination of serious comment and jocose, disarming insults," tending to single out artists "who shocked and defied conventional taste as possible harbingers of a new moral order" (MacKenzie and MacKenzie 97).

Ibsen's social plays must have appealed to the young Shaw. An early endeavour at play-writing hinted at his leanings toward the new forms of dramaturgy. In 1886 he and Archer attempted a joint work: Archer would provide the plot, and Shaw the dialogue. There was disagreement, however, over the ending of the play, *Rhinegold*. Archer wrote a conventional good-triumphant-over-evil denouement, but Shaw considered that Archer's romanticism was too far from reality: he wished the hero to turn cynic, more in keeping with real life. The project was abandoned.

In June 1888 Shaw watched Achurch perform as Hester Prynne at the Olympic Theatre. In June 1889 he saw her in the premiere of *A Doll's House* in London, having first seen the play two months earlier in Amsterdam. He returned twice, and at Archer's request, wrote the review for the *Manchester Guardian*. On Sunday, 16 June 1889 he met Achurch, sitting next to her at a celebratory dinner for the play's cast and supporters. He wrote to her the next day that he had been "suddenly magnetized,

irradiated, transported, fired, rejuvenated, bewitched by a wild and glorious young woman" ("Achurch" 215). Whether his "young woman" was Achurch or Nora, or both, this conflation was to recur for Achurch over the next few years. Shaw maintained a correspondence with the Charringtons during their tour, and they were to work together again, both theatrically, and in the Fabian Society. Although he did not ever meet Ibsen, Shaw's interest in the dramatist, and in Achurch as an actress and a person, was integral to Achurch's continuing success, during her absence on tour, and afterwards.

Achurch had many influential friends and supporters other than Archer or Shaw. However, these two are foremost among those who helped make her name in England, and bring to Australia that name, her star quality, and her expertise at staging and performing plays. Archer's talented and sympathetic translations of Ibsen's dramas and Shaw's friendship and zealous support enabled Achurch to bring to the stage a new type of drama that required new methods of dramaturgy and a new form of acting. Achurch's friendship with Ibsen, Archer, and Shaw was to endure long after the Australian visit was over. Without any of these *dramatis personae* in the meta-drama of Achurch's tour, her visit may have been simply that of any other aspiring actress, instead of the success it was. Most of all, together they helped bring both Ibsen and the New Woman to the New World.

Just as Achurch's early life, career, and relationships helped shape her into the right person to bring a new drama to Australia, so was Australia being shaped by, and shaping, its own history, society, politics, and culture, into the right environment for her arrival. Chapter 3 explains this process over the century after European settlement, through a chronology of the theatre and a summary of social, political, and cultural changes, particularly as they related to women's concerns, setting the scene for her tour.

Chapter 3: Setting

This chapter sets the stage for Achurch's tour, and the public response to that tour. The timing of Achurch's arrival in Australia was ideal. Not only was she at the pinnacle of her career, but theatrical and social conditions in Australia were at their optimum for her tour and itinerary. The country was throwing off its convict past, it was wealthy, and developing into an independent nation with a distinct identity. If Achurch had arrived in the country earlier than she did, it may not have been as ready as it was for her, for her contributions, and for the ground-breaking, realist drama she brought with her. If she had arrived any later, the tour may never have eventuated.

By 1892 Australia had entered a depression. When Achurch arrived, in 1889, the economy was buoyant; there was a population hungry for entertainment, and with funds to pay for it. The process of independent government was almost complete, and federation of the six colonies was only a decade away. Society was reasonably stable. The time was right for the introduction of Ibsen's plays. By then, such issues as marriage, motherhood, and divorce, suffrage, temperance, education, employment, and wages, were a matter of public discourse. Australian women had their own print forum, in *Dawn*, a periodical established in 1888 by Louisa Lawson. The Australian stage, through Achurch, became another forum.

This chapter is in three parts. It first briefly covers development of theatre in Australia from European settlement until the end of the nineteenth century, drawing for the most part from "Theatre from 1788 to the 1960s" (Fotheringham), *The Convict Theatres of Early Australia 1788–1840* (Jordan), *Australian Stage Album* (Carroll), the *Dictionary of Australian Theatre* (Irvin), *The Australian Stage: A Documentary History* (Love), and *A History of Australian Drama* (Rees). Some of the major changes that helped shape the country, its ideals and attitudes are outlined, relying to a large extent on data from *Australia: A Social and Political History* (Greenwood, et. al), and *A Short History of Australia* (Scott). The chapter concludes with some of the issues that were of specific importance to women as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

Setting the Scene: Theatre

The story of theatre in Australia is not only of the institution of theatre, but the buildings in which it played out. By 1889, the Australian theatre and audiences had developed sufficient sophistication to permit more complex dramatic works to be presented and appreciated. There was no lack of venues: by the early nineties there were five playhouses each in Melbourne and Sydney, three in Brisbane, two in Adelaide, and two in Tasmania. The story of professional theatre does not directly follow the same timeline as the founding of the various colonies. The development story therefore is told from the start of theatre in each centre: Sydney; Hobart; Adelaide; Melbourne; Brisbane; and Perth, focusing on those theatres in which Achurch performed. Although she did not overlook the minor centres, the background information is confined to the six colonial centres, as well as Bendigo, Ballarat, and Broken Hill, which are significant for their burgeoning populations following discovery of precious metals.

Convicts formed much of the foundations of dramatic presentation in this country. The first stage in the penal colony was at sea, seventeen days before reaching Sydney Cove, when prisoners performed a play on the transport ship *Scarborough* on 2 January 1788. The second stage was at Sydney Cove on 4 June 1789, when *The Recruiting Officer,* by George Farquhar, was performed in celebration of King George's birthday to an audience of about sixty, including Captain Arthur Phillip.

The first formal theatre was built, in Sydney, by Robert Sidaway, a convicted housebreaker. Known simply as The Theatre, and seating 120, it opened on 16 January 1796. Theatres were not encouraged: the clergy considered them to be dens of iniquity. In 1798 Governor John Hunter ordered all playhouses closed. By early 1800, however, new theatres had emerged, and productions recommenced. A major development came in 1825, nine years after the colony of New Holland had been officially renamed Australia, with the establishment of a convict theatre at Emu Plains. The theatre opened on 16 May and was active intermittently until 1830, when it was abolished by Governor Ralph Darling under pressure from Sydney.[27]

Sydney at that time had no professional theatre, only Barnett Levey's Royal Assembly Rooms. Levey is considered to be "the father of Australian entertainment" (Brisbane 11). He held a series of concerts in the Assembly Rooms, named as such to circumvent Governor Darling's requirement for theatrical performances to be licensed. He eventually obtained a licence from the new governor, Bourke, in 1832. He built a combined warehouse, hotel, and theatre in George Street, but bankruptcy forced him to sell. The new owners permitted him to convert one of the hotel saloons into a temporary theatre, the Saloon Royal, which opened on Wednesday, 26 December 1832. The Saloon Royal enabled Levey to finance a new theatre, the Royal, which opened on 5 October 1833; 346 different plays would be staged there over the next four years. The building was destroyed in 1840 by fire, an ever-present danger. Flimsy stage settings and scenery, costumes, properties, and paper such as playbills, combined with gas- or candle-light and inadequate maintenance and cleaning, brought the demise of at least eleven theatres between 1840 and 1900.

The three Sydney theatres in which Achurch was to appear were the Criterion, Her Majesty's, and the Garrick. The Criterion, presenting mainly West End light comedy, opened in December 1886, and held an audience of between 1,000 and 1,700. Her Majesty's opened in September 1887, and at the time was Sydney's best equipped and largest theatre, seating between 1,680 and 3,000. Lighting was provided by both electricity, generated by a steam engine, and gas. The Garrick opened on 22 December 1890 on the site of the Academy of Music. It seated 1,000, but was found to be too small for drama, and in 1893 it became the first Tivoli, where, until it burnt down in 1899, some of the best vaudeville talent from around the world was to perform.

Hobart succeeded Sydney in acquiring homes for its theatre: the Freemason's Tavern Theatre, and the Theatre Royal in Argyle Street. Freemason's was opened in December 1833, to permit performances by the recently arrived Samson Cameron Company. In the early days, Hobart was the place of first performance for many troupes, ships coming from Britain usually calling there on their way to Sydney. Cameron, with his wife Cordelia, is credited with founding professional theatre in Tasmania (then known as Van Diemen's Land), and was to make his mark in New South Wales,

Victoria, and South Australia. He opened Launceston's first theatre, in the British Hotel, in 1834. He also opened the Theatre Royal in Argyle Street, Hobart, in 1837, but this was not the Royal in which Achurch appeared fifty-one years later.

The Theatre Royal in Hobart in which Achurch performed in 1891 was in Campbell Street. Opening in March 1837 as the Royal, it was not a success. It was known for a time as the Victoria, then in 1856 the building and interior were reconstructed, and the original name was restored. 1890 saw further structural alterations, to cater for the travelling companies and visiting artists, and to allow for population growth. The population then was approximately 28,000 (Cheltnam 619). Theatre management were keen to have alterations completed for the September 1890 season, which was to open with Achurch, according to the *Mercury* newspaper of 16 August that year:

> The season will commence with the clever English actress, Miss Janet Achurch, whose impersonation of Ibsen's heroine in "The Doll's House" has created such an impression across the water. The company is a good all-round one, and the rejuvenated building could not again court public favour under happier auspices. ("Our Letter" 4)

Unfortunately for Hobart, the maritime strike in August that year prevented Achurch and her company from crossing Bass Strait, and it would be over a year before she made the journey south.

Adelaide acquired its first theatre in January 1838, in a converted saloon in the Adelaide Tavern. The theatre, the Royal, held an audience of up to four hundred; according to Irvin, "its life was rowdy and brief" (14). The second, the Royal Victoria, was opened in 1839 by Samson Cameron, but its life, too, was short, a victim of the economic depression that hit the colonies in the 1840s. After several incarnations, the Theatre Royal where Achurch performed in December 1889 was built on the site of an earlier theatre, which was demolished, apart from the façade, in 1878. It was here that *A Doll's House* had its South Australian premiere. The Albert Hall, where Achurch presented the play in August 1891, and Australia's first production of *Hedda Gabler* the following night, was later to become a focal point for meetings and lectures on women's issues, including the female franchise.

Melbourne did not get a home for its dramatic performances until 1841. The first theatre in the six year old colony was the Royal Pavilion Saloon (later abbreviated to Royal Pavilion), built alongside the Eagle Inn, a small hostelry in Bourke Street. The New Princess's Theatre which welcomed Achurch in 1889 began its life as Astley's Amphitheatre in 1854, as a venue for equestrian and circus events, but it was not a success.[28] George Coppin leased the building in February 1856, renaming it the Royal Amphitheatre, with the plan to stage variety and drama, but it closed after only eight weeks. It was redeveloped into the first Princess's, but when it opened on 16 April 1857 it was unfinished, poorly lighted, and badly ventilated. Despite continuous renovation, it was not popular, and had periods of disuse. A further make-over in 1865 failed to attract audiences, and the building was demolished after a fire in 1886. A second Princess's, with an attractive interior and good ventilation, was built on the site by Williamson, Garner and Musgrove, to the architectural design of William Pitt. It could seat an audience of about 3,300.

It was here that Achurch made her Australian debut. The other theatres in Melbourne in which she performed were the Royal and the Bijou. The Theatre Royal opened in 1855, was destroyed by fire, and then rebuilt in 1872 by Coppin. The Bijou began as the Academy of Music in 1876 but was renamed the Bijou in 1880; it was destroyed by fire in April 1889, and was rebuilt and reopened in April 1890.

Brisbane theatre did not have a home for many years. At first, free concerts were held in hotels and at mechanics' institutes. The first attempt at a formal space, the 1847 Amphitheatre, failed. In 1863 a music shop owner, G.B. Mason, took over the Victoria Hotel, and added a concert hall. It was rebuilt and renamed several times, and in 1881 became the Theatre Royal. It opened at Easter; according to the *Brisbane Courier* of 19 April 1881, it was a "bright and elegant little theatre, . . . gracefully proportioned and well lighted," with a "noble stage and comfortable adjuncts" ("Easter" 3). It was here that Achurch performed in February 1891 and again, for her final appearances in Australia, in November that year.

Perth had to wait even longer – until 1897, when the Theatre Royal was built in Hay Street. The huge distance of Perth from the major centres in the east kept it in relative isolation for a long time after settlement in 1829, and reliant on local entertainment. The first performances were at Leeder's Hotel, in 1839, by an amateur group known as the Thespians, and then in a larger room in Hodge's Hotel. Governor Sir William Robinson, keenly interested in theatre, during his tenure made space available at Government House for theatrical performances and musical recitals. St George's Hall, where the Achurch-Charrington Company performed in September 1891, was erected in 1879, and was the main venue, along with the Town Hall, for performances until the mid-1890s.

The lack of a formal theatre was criticised in the *West Australian* newspaper on 27 August 1891, shortly before Achurch's arrival:

> The muses who preside over the drama have been too long insufficiently housed in Perth. The only place in which the semblance of propriety such performances may take place is St. George's Hall, where there is much that is unsuitable and hardly anything which is suitable for the purposes for which, in default of another building, it has to be used. . . . [W]hen we see such performances . . . as [those already given], . . . and above all such a one as is, in the person of Miss Achurch, about to visit us, . . . it becomes a patent fact that a new theatre is one of the wants which can be least readily postponed. (Vigilans et Audax 4)

The three other significant centres in which Achurch performed were Bendigo, Ballarat, and Broken Hill. Theatres had existed in one form or another in Bendigo (formerly called Sandhurst) from early days. The music hall at the Shamrock Hotel was, during the gold rush era in the 1850s, the largest outside London. A Conservatorium of Music had long provided entertainment, but the largest theatre, the Royal, was completed in January 1854. In 1874 the Royal Princess Theatre opened (Bendigo Historical Society n.pag.). This was where Achurch performed in April 1891. The population by then had grown to about 50,000 (Cheltnam 615).

Ballarat's population was even larger, approximately 60,000 (Cheltnam 616). One of the first theatres was the Royal, which opened in 1858. Over the years it deteriorated, until it did not meet the needs of touring companies; the new Academy of Music (like many, named as such to overcome the scruples of those for whom the word "theatre" equated with debauchery) was built, opening in June 1875. It was renamed Her Majesty's following refurbishment in 1898, with the new architectural work designed by William Pitt (Her Majesty's Theatre n.pag.). Ballarat was so famous that Ibsen included a reference to the town in his 1862 prose drama, *Love's Comedy*: "But let the end be worth the leaping for! / A Ballarat beyond the desert sands" (*Love's Comedy* 1).

The Broken Hill Theatre Royal in which Achurch performed in August 1891 was in fact the Theatre Royal Hotel. The hotel was established in 1886 as the Exchange Hotel, and renamed Theatre Royal Hotel in 1890 (Graham n.pag.). Silver, lead, and zinc had been discovered in the area only a few years previously. From the early 1880s, the centre had grown to hold a "floating" population of approximately 20,000 (Cheltnam 615).

By the late nineteenth century, theatre in Australia had begun to hold its own. While the buildings that housed it came and went, the institution itself grew from humble offerings by convicts to a thriving industry that could accommodate its nascent, home-grown drama, dramatists, and performers, as well as stars of established stages in Europe and America. Like all art, the development of theatre reflected the development of social structures and their mores and traditions. The story of the theatre is the story of its social context.

Setting the Scene: Society

From a social structure based on a penal settlement Australian society had developed in a century to one where most were free to pursue life on their own terms. There were crucial moments that helped shape ideals and attitudes for both men and women as the young country developed. Perhaps if Australia's history since European settlement had been different, society would not yet have been as ready to welcome Achurch, or the new ideas about women's matters which she presented through Ibsen's two plays. As Erika Fischer-Lichte proposes in relation to the suggested effects of

Ibsen's ideas on modernisation, "processes of transformation do not occur in isolation, nor do they result from simple causal relationships" (3). They incorporate "certain aesthetic, political, social, technological or economic dimensions" (3). This section therefore is a snapshot of the first decades after European settlement. It focuses on five themes: social status; population and ethnicity; economy; government; and culture and the theatre.

Social status

The metamorphosis from a penal settlement to an established society was almost complete by the 1850s. Most of the early colonists were convicts sentenced to transportation. The first transportees arrived with the military and a few free settlers. Over the next eighty years, from 1788 to 1868, approximately 155,000 convicts were transported. In 1790, about 74 per cent of the population were convicts; twenty years later this had decreased to 43 per cent. Although prisoners were a mixture of upper-, middle-, and lower-class, here they were, at least in the first few years, for the most part on the lowest level of the new society, beneath the military, free settlers, and government representatives.

The first years were challenging for felons and non-felons alike, through scarcity of food and other supplies from "Home," and unfamiliarity with the new landscape, climate, and the indigenous population. Education facilities were scarce (the first schools were not opened until 1793), and organised religion was not formally insisted upon. By the standards of the day, moral degradation was widespread. This was not aided by the high proportion of men to women (three to one, prior to 1800); the lack of adequate supervision for allocation of female servants; and the lack of accommodation facilities by the government for women prisoners.

The social mix gradually altered. Many prisoners were achieving various forms of freedom, immigrants continued to arrive, and the birth rate was increasing. By the 1820s a new social class was rising: the currency lads and lasses. "Currency," at first a term applied pejoratively to native-born Australians as distinct from those born in England ("sterling"), was adopted by the new generation as a matter of pride (Moore 57–59). The power of the military was waning, and the new "upper" class was the primary producers: the pastoralists. This group dominated financial interests, particularly in the

wool industry. By mid-century they had a monopoly on the best land, and wielded wide political power. There was, however, another growing force: the workers.

As the proportions and status of prisoners changed, and with growing immigration, the number of workers increased. By the 1820 muster, most of the populace were workers and their families. During the 1820s they began organising as trade unions. By the mid-eighties, a high proportion of workers were union members. Strikes were common. In 1890, political action by maritime workers "swelled to become the largest strike in Australian history" (Crotty and Roberts 15). The Maritime Strike (also known as the Great Strike) grew to include transport and pastoral workers and miners, and lasted a month. It caused widespread poverty among both workers and employers (Bellanta 74–75). The strike was lost by the unionists, but there were more struggles in the following years, leading to the inception of what is now the Australian Labor Party.

The change in power structure was not only financial, but geographical. As power shifted from the pastoralists, it also shifted from the country to the city. Urban centres, particularly the larger cities, were where workers (employed or unemployed) increasingly concentrated. They were also the centre of wealth-making, in trade, banking, and manufacturing. It was in the cities that theatres were first built to service the growing populations.

Population and ethnicity

The population of European origin had grown exponentially over the three decades from settlement to the 1820 muster. The indigenous population in 1788 was difficult to establish; Phillip considered there may have been about 1,500 in the Botany Bay area alone. By 1925 the total indigenous population was estimated at 63,000. The non-indigenous population in 1788 was 859 (Australian Bureau of Statistics n.pag.). By 1820, the population was 33,543, with 9.34 per cent of the growth coming from immigration.[29] Over the next decades, and up until the early 1840s, immigration averaged about 2,000 per year. The discovery of gold in California occasioned an exodus (Blanche 114). The discovery of gold in Australia brought a new influx: in 1850 the population was 405,356, and by 1860 it had more than doubled to 1,145,585 (ABS n.pag.).

With the gold rushes and cessation of transportation, immigration was no longer mainly from the British Isles but from all parts of the globe. While most of the population were still Anglo-Irish or Australian-born, a large proportion were Chinese, or from European countries (Brisbane 12). By 1889, Australia's population was 3,062,477 (ABS n.pag.). By Federation in 1901, it was 3,824,916 (n.pag.). The country's economy, too, was moving, but not always upwards.

Economy

The country's early economic history was one of cycles of booms and busts. These cycles usually followed those of Britain, but with a delay of about a year. The basic early industries were agriculture, sheep farming, whaling, and sealing, gradually supplemented with milling and brewing, and production of household and industrial commodities. By the 1830s, free settlers with disposable income made up 56 per cent of the population (Brisbane 11). In New South Wales, boom years in 1825 and 1826 were followed by a severe depression from 1826 to 1831; the cycle then repeated, with a boom from 1836 to 1840, and a depression from 1841 to 1844. Similar sequences occurred in other settlements.

Despite the boom/bust cycles, by the 1850s Australia effectively had become self-supporting, and no longer totally dependent on Britain. The main sources of wealth were agriculture and sheep; with experience and improvements in technology, grain surpluses had become the norm, and sheep were a staple export. The wool industry continued to dominate the economy, even after the discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales, which brought enormous wealth. In 1852, gold exports were worth nearly twenty million pounds. The discovery of precious metals aided Australia's development into a financial centre (Brisbane 12). The economic upturn, however, was not to continue.

The economy peaked in 1889 and then declined rapidly. Overseas trade figures were mounting; although there was evidence of rising fortunes of landed and mercantile families, there was also recurrent unemployment. Extravagant optimism and a rising anti-imperialism brought development to a pitch during the 1880s. Between 1886 and 1890, over ninety million pounds were borrowed,

and largely applied to unwise speculations or to payment of interest on previous loans. Overseas prices for wool and minerals fell heavily after 1892, while labour troubles increased. Australian credit collapsed in London in 1892, and by 1893, all but one Victorian bank had failed. The economy did not recover for many years. When Achurch arrived in 1889 the bubble had not yet burst. There was still money to spend on entertainment, particularly in the cities. There was also a mood of optimism in the colonies, not in a small way influenced by the movement towards unification and self-government.

Government

Australia developed from an autocratic prison farm to six self-governing colonies which federated in 1901. At first, control was from England. Although this brought political protection it also meant that the colonies were affected by political changes in England: there were large constitutional changes in the British Empire throughout the 1820s and 1840s. By 1846, it was generally accepted that Australia needed self-government, which was achieved after vigorous and prolonged colonial agitation. In 1891 the first Federal Convention was held, with another in 1897–98; in 1900 the Commonwealth Constitution went before the Imperial Parliament, and on 9 May 1901, the first Commonwealth Parliament was opened. Although still subject to the Crown in England, Australia was an independent nation, with a distinct sense of developing identity.

Culture and the theatre

Australians were fully conscious of growing nationhood by the 1880s. They had also developed a consciousness of their cultural needs. From the first, convicts and emancipists, as well as free settlers, contributed widely to cultural development (Stewart 179). As the century progressed, Australia became part of the world circuit for performers, who helped keep their audiences in touch with international news and entertainment (Brisbane 10). Immigrants of many nationalities, arriving in the gold rushes of the 1850s, brought with them new cultural ideas. Not all culture originated overseas, however.

Changes were occurring in the Australian psyche. Not only was a spirit of anti-imperialism moving within Australia, but a new sense of place was entering the nation's mind, reflected in its art. While music, drama, and architecture was still much tied to European influence, the national mood was expressed by its new writers and artists. "Men no longer looked on the land with alien eyes, seeing it as harsh, strange, unlovely and terrifying," says historian Gordon Greenwood, and the "landscape impressionism of Roberts, Streeton, McCubbin and Conder . . . became established as the typically Australian mode of painting" (235).

Australians were reading and writing literature from early days. Books of all genres arrived with the First Fleet (Webby 49). Most colonists (convict and free) could at least sign their name, and the more educated had reasonable personal libraries (35–36). As the century progressed, the call for more reading material grew, especially for works by Scott, Byron, and Shakespeare (36). Those who could not afford their own copies could, as time went by, attend lectures, or visit lending libraries and reading rooms, which by 1830 were established in several of the larger centres (37–40).

While much of the literature came from overseas, Australia was producing its own, of high quality: novels from writers such as Henry Handel Richardson,[30] Miles Franklin,[31] Rosa Praed, and Tasma; poetry from "Banjo" Paterson,[32] Henry Lawson, and Ada Cambridge; drama from Alfred Dampier.[33] Much of the early work was published in periodicals. Magazines and newspapers not only had a wide audience, but provided a forum for critics, and an opportunity for writers to disseminate their work (Stewart 190). By the end of the nineteenth century, Australian literary works were available in bookstores and libraries. One of the first anthologies, *Australian Poets, 1788–1888* was dedicated to Edmund Gosse, "one of the leading men of letters in England" (V. Smith 92).[34] Gosse was to be one of Ibsen's greatest supporters.

Genteel Australians in the early days of the colonies tended to imitate the leisure activities of their British counterparts. Theatres were important. According to Leslie Rees, theatre "really became a recreation of the people" in both Britain and Australia in the nineteenth century: "more widely enjoyed

than at any time since Shakespeare's Globe" (20–21). Early repertoires were for the most part almost identical to those in Britain and the United States.

While overseas works were still popular, Australian-born drama was reflecting the uniquely Australian way of life. As the century progressed, locally-written drama introduced many Australian stock characters including bushmen, diggers, and larrikins (P. Richardson 74). The "new chum," too, came to represent the nation's moves towards its own identity, while still recognising British culture (74).[35] Serious Australian drama with what Leslie Rees calls a clear "Ib-shaw" influence can be identified as early as 1912, with Arthur Adams's *The Wasters*. In this play, the wife, "Baby," is "apparently an empty-headed parasitic doll" (the "waster"), who rallies in defence of her child (Rees 116–17). The play, considers Rees, has a "distinct whiff" of *A Doll's House* (117).

The last two decades of the nineteenth century brought huge growth in the Australian theatre, to keep up with demand. By the 1890s, it was vigorous, with good music and good drama. There was a wide diversity of offerings, both in serious dramatic production, and on the variety stage. Melodrama, declining in popularity in England and America, was still drawing large and enthusiastic crowds in Australia (P. Richardson 74). Also continuing to be popular were *opera bouffe*, operettas (such as Gilbert and Sullivan), farce, comedy, and Shakespeare.

Australia was also producing its own actors and actresses, and making its mark on the international stage. Arguably as talented as their overseas counterparts, many performers went on to have noteworthy careers (Brisbane 10–11). Some travelled to London and other centres of drama to gain experience. One such was Helen Kinnaird, who toured with Achurch from December 1889 until February 1891. The *Camperdown Chronicle* on Tuesday, 18 July 1893 notes that Kinnaird was active on both the English and American stages ("Plays and Players" 2).

By 1889 and Achurch's visit, the cultural mind of Australia was developing its own tastes. Although still predicated on those of the established cultural capitals of the world, it was acquiring an identity of its own, with artwork, novels, poetry, and drama imbued with the new landscapes, both external and internal. Although anchored in the old, it was opening up to the possibilities of the

new. It was ready for new ideas. Not least of these was the growing groundswell of thought and discussion on matters that were of particular concern, and interest, to women.

Setting the Scene: Women's Issues

As in other Western countries, by the 1880s there was growing debate in Australia on the rights and roles of women, and increasing agitation for a greater involvement by women in matters outside the home. Achurch's arrival, bringing with her a drama which had already set Europe, and recently, the London stage, on its head, was timely for the women of Australia. A drama centring on a woman who discovers that marriage and motherhood do not answer all her needs as a human being, and leaves to find that answer, may well have struck a chord with many women (and men). Within the over-arching theme of a quest for identity and the right to be treated as an independent human being are the issues of rights within and outside marriage; the right to have a say in the laws of the country; and the right to a full education and career. Added to this is the right to employment, with equitable conditions and remuneration.

In *A Doll's House*, Nora considers it a sacred duty for everyone, regardless of their sex, to be acknowledged foremost as a human being. This encompasses being treated with respect, and to have control of one's own body and mind. Most of the first women brought out to the new penal colony came as soldier's wives, or as convicts. Their lives, bodies, and minds were in control of the law, and of the military powers sent to uphold the law. Convict women could be used as servants or sexual partners. Even when their time had been served they, like their free sisters, were still secondary citizens in a male-dominated society. By the last decades of the nineteenth century women in Australia were seeking a voice. Their numbers had grown to a size enabling them to be heard. By the time of Achurch's arrival, the (non-indigenous) population had increased to 3,062,477, including 1,413,383 females (ABS n.pag).

Women, free, emancipist, or convict, had few rights under the laws governing marriage, children, divorce, or death. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, there was agitation against unilateral "rights" within marriage, in particular seeking fairer divorce laws (Gardner *Plays* xi). There

also was no legal requirement for married men to make testamentary provision for their wife and children (Farrell 130). Women did not have a say in those laws. As in England, there were restrictions on who could vote. Mid-century, men with property could vote; men without property, and all women, could not (Farrell 119). By 1896 every adult British male had the right to vote at state level (Bassett 257).[36]

The movement for female suffrage was well under way by 1889. It had its genesis "in a variety of women's groups working with different agendas," suggests Rita Farrell, "but all of which, in some way, addressed the needs of women and children" (136). In 1894, South Australia granted women the right to vote in state elections; Victoria was the last state to grant a female franchise, in 1908 (although there were still restrictions on eligibility) (Sawer n.pag.). Women in South Australia and Western Australia were able to vote in the 1901 federal election (n.pag.). The right for women to stand for federal parliament was granted in 1902, but it was not until 1943 that a woman was elected (n.pag.).

More women were entering the professions, which had traditionally been restricted to men. Colonist children, male and female, had access to an education, in schools (state, private, and industry), and by home teaching where such institutions were not easily accessed (Theobald 1). Girls were encouraged to get an education. There is evidence, according to Theobald, that (at least in state schools) there was "more official energy expended enticing girls into school than in keeping them out" (5). Tertiary education, however, was not available for women until later in the nineteenth century (Nugent 18). Women seeking further education had to fight against societal perceptions that it was not "nice" for girls to be intellectual (Dixson 294). By the last decades, women were graduating from university and other tertiary institutions, and working in traditional male fields such as science, architecture, and medicine (Nugent 17). By the 1890s, women held degrees in biology, geology, and palaeontology, as well as in the more conventional roles of teaching and nursing (19–23).

The struggle, for women, did not stop after an education was acquired. Their fight for employment was twofold: to find a position, and to gain equitable conditions. Fewer were entering domestic service, and more were entering industry and the professions (Nugent 32). Opportunities

were not high, nor were wages and conditions good; employment was seen, for women, as a stop-gap measure until they married (Farrell 124).

There was increasing opposition by male workers as more women entered the workforce. Unions were male-dominated; although some were advocates of women's rights, most were "a significant barrier to women's access to paid employment and decent wages" (Nugent 37). Just a month before Achurch's arrival, an example of the challenges for women entering traditional male occupations was experienced by, and mentioned in, *Dawn*. The periodical explains its purpose in its first issue, dated 15 May 1888:

> There has hitherto been no trumpet through which the concentrated voices of womankind could publish their grievances and their opinions. . . . Here then is Dawn, the Australian Woman's Journal and mouthpiece . . . Here we will give publicity to women's wrongs, will fight their battles, assist to repair what evils we can, and give advice to the best of our ability. (Lawson 1–2)

Dawn employed only women, as writers, typesetters, and printers. On 3 August 1889 the following appeared:

> The Trades' and Labour Council have issued a circular calling upon all trade associations which are affiliated to them, to boycott the printing establishments which give employment to women. . . . We . . . are able to see here, the modern labour problem in a nutshell. A very numerous society of men, financially strong, and powerful in influence, seek to eject from a reasonable and lawful occupation, a few women, numbering altogether less than a dozen. No preliminary enquiry is made as to the salary paid these women, no pretence is made that this action is taken to secure for them fair wages for fair work . . . ("Fair Fighting" 12)

Men were still fighting for their own fair wages and conditions. Despite union agitation, it would be another eighteen years before a basic or minimum wage (for men) was set in Australia by the Harvester Judgement of 1907. The Judgement was the result of consultation and consideration by a

federal tribunal, established to settle industrial disputes (Macintyre 151). The basic wage, considered to be sufficient to maintain a man as a human being, and allow him to support a wife and children, was premised on the male as breadwinner (151). It was another sixty years before women achieved similar consideration.

Ibsen's *A Doll's House* reached Australia at a pivotal time for women. There had been, and would continue to be, public debate on the roles and rights of women. Female identity and equality were matters of open discourse. The woman question gained momentum after the arrival of *A Doll's House*. A search of the phrase "woman question" in the periodicals examined for this thesis reveals only twenty-five occurrences in the nine years from January 1880 to September 1889, with topics such as education, labour, suffrage, temperance, religion, prostitution, and survival. There were nineteen occurrences in the one year after *Doll's House.* The same topics arise, but supplemented by those of unmarried motherhood, testamentary provision for widows, access to employment, and access to drinking and smoking establishments. It is apparent that Australia was grappling with the social issues affecting the women of the time. Like the country in which they lived, Australian women were also working towards independence. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Achurch's arrival with a drama that exemplified their struggle was a catalyst for social change.

In this chapter I have provided the context for Achurch's tour and the response to Ibsen's social dramas. By 1889, Australia was edging towards self-government and was mostly financially independent, despite growing financial concerns. It was drawing away from its convict past and total reliance on Great Britain. Unions were challenging the powers of employers. Women were challenging traditional male domains and taking up the fight against inequality. Australia was maturing as a society. Social and cultural change was paralleled by development of local theatre. The population had grown and the economy was sufficient to support an increasing number of theatres incorporating the latest technologies and providing increasingly sophisticated fare. This was the setting—it could be called ideal—in which Achurch made her debut. Chapter 4 follows her progress from the opening performance in Melbourne on 14 September 1889 to her farewell in Brisbane just over two years later.

Chapter 4: Progression

Janet Achurch "arrived" in Australia before ever she left England: her reputation preceded her. As well as the glowing publicity from her theatrical agents, Messrs Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove, reports of her talent and beauty were appearing in Australian newspapers long before she reached these shores. Her name first appears in an item in Melbourne's *Argus* newspaper on 17 May 1889, under the heading, "Engagements for the Australian Stage." This article advises that Mr Musgrove's negotiations with the "exceedingly youthful" Achurch, although originally stalled because of her insistence on selection of her own roles, were successfully completed, and arrangements had been made for a tour of Australia ("Engagements" 5). The item, sent from London on 16 May, was repeated in full or in part only days later: in the Adelaide *Advertiser* on 20 May, the Hobart *Mercury* on 23 May, and the *Launceston Examiner* on 25 May.

The names of Achurch, Ibsen, and Nora are first linked in August, while Achurch and Charrington were on their journey to Australia. Achurch is referred to as "the actress who has made the success of the drama," the drama in question being *A Doll's House*, of which the "home papers are very full" and "which has excited such sharp literary controversy" (Pistachio 31).[37] The controversy about Ibsen and the play continued in England, and was to spread to Australia.

This chapter is the story of Achurch's tour of Australia. It includes the entire itinerary and repertoire from 14 September 1889 to 13 November 1891, special attention being paid to performances of, and responses to, *A Doll's House*. Annexure 2 provides dates, theatres, places, and plays. Cast members for each production are set out in Annexure 3.

Arriving in Australia

The Achurch-Charrington Company left London the day after the final performance of *A Doll's House* at the Novelty Theatre on 29 June 1889. On 5 July, 1889, they boarded a train at Charing Cross Station for the start of a journey that would take them to the other side of the world. The trip from London to Melbourne at that time took about thirty-eight days, travelling via the Red Sea (Cheltnam

609). The passage of time has left no traces of Achurch's journey, but ten weeks after leaving London, the company opened in Melbourne, with much advance publicity.

Melbourne: September-October 1889

New Princess's Theatre: 14/9/1889 to 1/11/1889

On Saturday, 7 September 1889 an advertisement in Melbourne's *Argus* newspaper announced the arrival of Achurch and the premiere of *A Doll's House*. The tour was to commence at Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove's New Princess's Theatre in Melbourne, on Saturday, 14 September 1889. The grandiose advertisement touts the theatrical agents' pride in obtaining *Doll's House* for the Australian stage; glowingly praises Ibsen and *Doll's House*, and stresses the controversies occasioned by the play in Europe; and expands on the genius of Achurch and the talents of Charrington (New Princess's Theatre 16). The efficacy of the advertisement, and no doubt of earlier information and publications, would be evident in the ticket-buying frenzy that occurred the following Monday.

Seats soon sold out. According to a witness quoted in the *Argus* the following day, the opening of the box plan by ticket agents Nicholson's occasioned a "disgraceful crush and fight" ("Tue. Sep. 10 1889" 6). The strongest men secured the best seats, their "weaker brethren" taking what was left, and some ladies, "who had stood patiently in a circle at the back waiting their turn," missed out altogether (6). Extra seating was provided, and on Saturday, 14 September, those who could squeeze into the theatre were rewarded with their first taste of Achurch.

They also encountered, for the first time on stage, Ibsen's controversial play. Many were vocal in their disapproval. The *Argus* expressed its concern at the "noisy expressions of impatience from a restless section of the occupants of the gallery, and interruptions which were as unmanly as they were inconsiderate" ("Princess's: 'Doll'" 6). One wonders if such scenes would have eventuated if the triumvirates' original intentions had been realised and Achurch had not been able to choose her own roles, or had *Doll's House* not been such a controversial success in London. It is probable that the first performance of *Devil Caresfoot*,[38] which was the opening performance originally planned, would not have occasioned such scenes.

Janet Achurch as Nora and Charles Charrington

as Dr Rank, in *A Doll's House*, Novelty Theatre, London, July 1889

(Whitebrook n.pag., photo 10)

Other actors and actresses joined Achurch and Charrington upon their arrival in Australia. Cast members for the first performance were: Nora Helmer: Janet Achurch; Torvald Helmer: Charles Charrington; Dr Rank: H.H. Vincent; Nils Krogstad: Herbert Flemming; Mrs Linden: Maud Williamson; Anna and Ellen (servants): Madge Herrick and Fannie Musgrove; porter: Mr Atkinson; Einar, Emma, and Bob (the children): Baby Nicholls, Miss White, and Master Stephens. As the tour progressed, the company was joined by other performers for periods during each season, particularly the children. All scenery, properties, costumes, scripts, and other paraphernalia had been brought from England.

The reviews are mixed. The *Argus* is critical of the play: it was too slow and not melodramatic enough to hold audience attention ("Princess's: 'Doll'" 6). In Act 3, according to the *Argus*, the character of Nora is unwomanly, repellent, and selfish (6). Achurch, however, received an "enthusiastic welcome"; her performance was "at once refined and artistic," deserving of the "unqualified praise" which she received from most of the audience at the end of each act (6).

The tone of the review in the *Sydney Morning Herald* differs from that of the *Argus*. Ibsen, the play, and Nora are attacked more openly, although Achurch receives nothing but approbation. The "young and petite" actress had a "girlish grace," "made an emphatic personal triumph," and was an "instantaneous hit" ("'Doll': First Production" 5). Not so Ibsen: "Exit Ibsen, re-enter Shakespeare" (5). None of the play's characters, apart from the "so-called villain" (Krogstad), is either "decent" or

"comprehensible" (5). Nora is singled out for particular antipathy: "the skittish child-wife and *sui devant*,"[39] "empty-headed macaroon-munching heroine" is simply boring, and Achurch should not waste her obvious talent on her (5). The play has "gone up like a rocket and come down like the proverbial stick" (5). It is pronounced a "decided failure," and predicted soon to be withdrawn from the Melbourne stage, most likely never to be seen again in Australia (5). That prediction was wrong: the play would be staged here at least fifty-two more times over the next two years.

Reviews of the first night were also published in the *Age*, *Telegraph*, *Herald*, and *Standard*. Excerpts from each appear in the *Argus* advertisement on Tuesday, 17 September, all, no doubt, selected for their approbatory qualities. They paint Achurch and the play in glowing colours. It is clear that the agents, in their selection of quotes, were actively fostering the notion of the play's unconventionality. The *Herald* quote includes: "Neither the new play nor the new actress is like anything the world has ever seen on the stage before. They are both startlingly unconventional" (qtd. in New Princess's Theatre 8). The *Standard* considers that "the way in which the play itself is regarded is decidedly varied. There are those who cannot praise it too highly, and those, again, whose condemnation is equally boundless" (qtd. in 8). The storm of opinions and letters to the editor that was to follow Achurch's progress around the country was to bear out this observation.

A Doll's House continued for a further eleven consecutive performances over the next two weeks. Whether the run was a success or not was again a matter of divided opinion. An item in the *Gippsland Times* notes that despite the Princess's being "a favourite resort for Melbourne playgoers," the drama "does not take" (Frank 3). It suggests that although Achurch is one of the best actresses Melbourne has yet seen, it would be a wise career move if she were to abandon *Doll's House* and find something more worthy of her talents (3). According to the *Illustrated Australian News and Musical Times*, the "psychological romance . . . took with the more intellectual portions of the community," but "as a play it failed to enlist the general sympathy" ("Australian Stage" 11). It is suggested that although the agents' experiment in bringing the drama to the Australian stage was a risk, they would most likely "see their way to making a profit out of it" (11).

A Doll's House was replaced on Saturday, 28 September by *The New Magdalen*, which continued for a further ten performances with Achurch in the lead role of Mercy Merrick.[40] The play was pronounced a success although not unfamiliar to Melbourne audiences. "No previous performance of it has been watched with such close attention, followed with such sympathetic interest, or rewarded with such genuine and enthusiastic applause," enthuses the *Argus* the following Monday ("Princess's: 'Magdalen'" 6). This was due, the writer feels, in no little part to Achurch's acting (6). The writer compares Mercy Merrick with Nora, with Nora considered the lesser character:

> Unlike Norah [sic] Helmer in "The Doll's House," [sic] who only announces her intention of becoming "a human being" at the end of the drama, and who has been impliedly a nondescript, or a marionette, up to that point, Mercy Merrick is distinctly human from the first – woman alike in her virtues and weaknesses . . . (6)

The season at the New Princess's closed with six performances of *Pygmalion and Galatea* commencing Saturday, 12 October, with the one-act comedietta *Written in Sand* preceding the main show. The final night at the New Princess's was Friday, 18 October, and the following day the company moved to Coppin's Theatre Royal, at that time also leased and managed by Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove.

Theatre Royal: 19/10/1889 to 1/11/1889

The Theatre Royal season opened with Achurch as Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* for a six-night season starting Saturday, 19 October, 1889. The *Argus* on 21 October notes that although Achurch was at first associated almost entirely with *A Doll's House*, she was now showing the "full range of her powers" ("Theatre Royal: 'Merchant'" 5). A command performance of this play was staged for the benefit of the Governor, Lord Loch, on Tuesday, 29 October. *Led Astray* concluded the company's Melbourne stay, opening on Saturday, 26 October. Although only five performances were given, the *Argus* review considers that the play was "placed upon the stage as carefully as if it was intended for a long run" ("Theatre Royal: 'Led Astray'" 8). The final night was Friday, 1 November 1889.

The company were steadily acquiring a reputation for quality productions, and Achurch was confirming her reputation as an actress equally able in tragedy, comedy, and melodrama. Although Melbourne newspapers were not as obliging as those in Adelaide in mentioning house sizes, those that did consistently noted the attendance as large, even crowded. As the capacity of the Princess's was about 3,300, this was indeed a coup. Achurch worked hard for her success, maintaining a gruelling schedule despite being in the early months of pregnancy, performing every day except Sundays, and one Friday. She made forty-two appearances, in six different plays. In each, she took the lead female role, which, for *Doll's House*, meant nearly three hours almost continuously on stage. The constant hard work was to continue for the rest of the tour. Also to continue were the glowing reviews she had received for her acting. At no time over the entire tour did she receive anything but accolades from reviewers and correspondents for performances of *A Doll's House* and, later, *Hedda Gabler*. Very few reviewers found fault with her acting overall, no matter how repugnant some found her material to be.

Adelaide: November-December 1889

Theatre Royal: 9/11/1889 to 10/12/1889

Closing her Melbourne season on 1 November, Achurch travelled to Adelaide, opening at the Theatre Royal on Saturday the 9th, not with *Doll's House*, but with *The New Magdalen*. Reviews made special mention of her delivery. The reviewer for the *Advertiser* on Monday the 11th considers that:

> Miss Janet Achurch comes to us with an English reputation, but it cannot be in the part of Mercy Merrick that she achieved it. She has a good stage presence, but her voice has a peculiar sepulchral ring about it at times, and it struck us as being rather assumed. It may be that Miss Achurch was endeavouring to get the "pitch" of the theatre, but she will do well to modify it in future. ("New Magdalen" 7)

As an example of how the same performance can be received with opposite views, however, the *South Australian Register* for the same day describes her as follows:

> Miss Achurch has a fine figure, graceful bearing, an expressive face, and histrionic powers of high order. Although an actress of the emotional school, she avoids the besetting sin of her sisterhood and does not tear passion to tatters, although she approaches very near it sometimes. So far she has created a most favourable impression, and will be popular . . . ("Theatre Royal" 6)

Magdalen continued for a further five nights, followed by three nights each of *Pygmalion and Galatea* (again preceded by *Written in Sand*), *In His Power*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Led Astray*, and *The House on the Marsh*. Achurch's aplomb as an actress came to the fore during *The Merchant of Venice* according to the review in the *Register*: she tripped on her hem, and fell while exiting the stage at the end of Act 4; she "recovered herself with such ready tact and grace that the house gave her a hearty encouraging cheer" ("Theatre Royal" 6).

A two-night return of *In His Power* was followed, on Friday the 6th, by a special benefit for Herbert Flemming. The benefit, which comprised Achurch and Flemming performing in *Written in Sand*, and selections from *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet*, was held under the patronage of the South Australian Governor, the Earl of Kintore, and Countess Kintore. Lord and Lady Kintore extended that patronage to a command performance of *A Doll's House* the following night, Saturday the 7th. *A Doll's House* was again staged on Monday the 9th and Tuesday the 10th. While differences of opinion continued about Ibsen, his plays, plots, and characters, Achurch again triumphed as Nora.

The Adelaide season was gruelling: at least one performance every day (except Sunday) from opening night on Friday, 9 November, until closing night on Tuesday, 10 December. Ten different dramas or selections were presented. Adelaide newspaper items regularly mention audience size as part of their reviews. All consistently indicate large, moderate, or fair-sized houses for each of the performances. There was a decline in numbers towards the middle of the season: the audience for the first night of *Led Astray* on Wednesday, 27 November, was described in the *Register* the next day as "thin" ("Theatre Royal" 6). An improved attendance for Flemming's benefit perhaps reflected the

drawing power of vice-regal sponsorship. The rest of the season attracted moderate houses: the Royal, like the New Princess's, could seat upwards of 3,300, so that was no small achievement.

Melbourne again: December 1889-June 1890

New Princess's Theatre: 26/12/1889 to 29/2/1890

Returning to the New Princess's Theatre in Melbourne, the company opened on 26 December 1889 with Buchanan's *That Dr. Cupid*. The company at this time comprised Achurch, Charrington, and Flemming; Maude Williamson; Madge Herrick; Mrs Edouin Bryer; Maud Appleton; Owen Harris; Frederick Neebe; and W.F. Clitheroe (sometimes shown as Clitherow). The review in the *Argus* the next day gives credit to the company for any success the play may have had with the large audience, noting that the drama was not the equal of Buchanan's other works ("Princess's: 'Cupid'" 6). Over the next three weeks the play was repeated twenty-one times, closing on Saturday, 18 January 1890. According to the *Argus*, the play had a good run despite not striking a chord with the public ("Sat. Jan. 18 1890" 9).

No record is available for the next four weeks. As well as time for rest and rehearsal, it was perhaps during this period that Achurch and Charrington's engagement with the triumvirate was terminated. The reason for the termination given in the *South Australian Registrar* of 26 May is that the arrangement was "unprofitable" for the agents ("Dramatic Notes" 6). From then, the tour was managed by Charrington and Flemming, and, later, Mr A.L. Cunard.

Although the tour contract with the triumvirate was concluded, the next recorded performance by the company was at the New Princess's. This final two-week period saw thirteen consecutive performances of *Two Nights in Rome*, opening on Saturday, 15 February. The play was "beautifully mounted" in the opinion of the *Argus* of 17 February ("New Princess's: 'Rome'" 6). Although the supporting cast receive varied reviews, Achurch's performance as Antonia is thought to be better than anything she had done previously, both "in conception and execution" (6). The play closed on 29 February.

Theatre Royal: 19/4/1890

There is a further hiatus until Saturday, 19 April 1890, when a farewell matinee was held in honour of actor Mr H.H. Vincent's retirement from the stage. The benefit was at the Theatre Royal under the auspices of the lessees, Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove. The acts advertised in the *Argus* the previous Saturday include "Recitation … Miss Janet Achurch" and on the following line, "Dramatic Tableau, 'As in a Looking Glass,' Mr. Harry Rickards" (Theatre Royal 16). There is no newspaper record of Achurch having fulfilled this engagement. An obituary records that Achurch performed in *As in a Looking Glass* in Australia (Amphion 8). Several theatre dictionaries also mention the piece as in Achurch's Australian repertoire. It is reasonable to assume that it was to this occasion that those records refer as there is no other mention of the play over the time of the tour. Achurch is not mentioned in any reviews of the benefit, which appeared in most major colonial papers. The *Argus*, which lists the major performers in an article on 21 April, simply reports that "Mr. Harry Rickards sang 'As In a Looking-glass" ("Mr. Vincent" 9). If a star of Achurch's magnitude had appeared, she would have been acknowledged, and it is reasonable to assume that her advertised appearance did not eventuate.

Despite being in the final months of pregnancy, although the repertoire was kept at only two plays, during this second Melbourne season Achurch gave thirty-four performances. The Charringtons were also becoming known almost as much off the stage as on it. Charrington and Achurch held several "At Homes" in Melbourne during this period. The *West Australian* reported some months later that these popular receptions were "always looked forward to and largely attended" ("Miss Achurch Off the Stage" 6). On 29 May 1890 baby Nora Charrington Martin was born. It was a difficult birth and Achurch almost died (Whitebrook 141). She was treated heavily with morphine, to which she later became addicted (141).[41]

Sydney: July-October 1890

Criterion Theatre: 12/7/1890 to 29/8/1890

Following her recuperation, Achurch and Charrington, with their company, moved to Sydney. The intention had been to open at the Criterion, then under the management of Messrs Brough and Boucicault, on Saturday, 5 July 1890. However, Boucicault's *School for Scandal* was drawing "capital houses," and Achurch's engagement at the theatre was postponed for a week ("Theatres" 3). The season opened on 12 July with *A Doll's House,* which continued for a further eleven nights. The behaviour of a section of the audience on the opening night mirrored that in Melbourne. The *Sydney Morning Herald* the following Monday reports a "hostile, rude, unruly gallery" that hooted, yelled, and catcalled for the first half ("'Doll': Criterion" 6). Perhaps it was not entirely a reaction to the play. Such behaviour was not uncommon: the review notes that "rowdyness" was "becoming rampant in our theatres, and it behoves the managers to take steps to stop it" (6).

The reviewer was not impressed with *A Doll's House*. While it was "thoroughly well played," it was, in the writer's opinion, constructed "in a feeble, amateurish fashion" with "none too brilliant" dialogue ("'Doll': Criterion" 6). The plot did not amuse, and the ending was "illogical, absurd, and unsatisfying" (6). As for Nora, she is "the antithesis of nature" (6). Similar, if sometimes more sympathetic, reviews appear for succeeding productions.

Despite attracting poor critical opinion, the play succeeded in drawing sufficient audiences for the season to be extended for three nights further than originally planned. The flurry of opinions and letters to the editor no doubt increased public interest. It is also likely that Sydney literati and society members were following the lead of the New South Wales Governor, Baron Lord Carrington, and his wife, Lady Carrington, who attended the vice-regal command night on Tuesday, 15 July. "Julia" in the Broken Hill *Barrier Miner* notes that "since vice-regal night at the Criterion 'A Doll's House' seems to have grown in favor [sic] with the public" (4).

A Doll's House closed on Friday, 25 July, to be followed by eighteen nights of *Frou-Frou,* with Achurch in the role of Gilberte.[42] The *Herald* reports on 30 July that while she was "generally

excellent" in the first performance, by Tuesday she had modified her performance in the death scene, playing it "simply, quietly, and effectively," to her own, and the drama's, advantage ("Criterion" 8). *Frou-Frou* was followed by twelve nights of Sardou's *Fédora*, from Saturday, 16 August, with Achurch as Princess Fédora Romazoff.[43] Laura Villiers would perform the role at Her Majesty's in November 1891 and her performance would be compared unfavourably to Achurch's: although performing with "intelligence," Villiers "did not rise to the tragic and emotional heights required," unlike Achurch, according to the *Herald* ("Sat. Nov. 7 1891" 9).

The *Fédora* season was interposed by a special matinee of *A Doll's House* on Saturday, 23 August, "in response to an universally expressed desire" (Criterion Theatre 2). The matinee attracted a large audience, including Lady Hamilton,[44] with rows of stalls "reserved for members of the theatrical profession" ("Criterion" 9). Achurch took several curtain-calls, and was presented with a "frame of photographs, by Falk, of the members of the 'Doll's House' company, in remembrance of her first appearance on July 12 in Sydney" (9).[45] *Fédora* continued that evening.

A Falk photograph of Achurch, dancing the tarantella in *A Doll's House*

(from my own collection)

The special performance of *Doll's House* was preceded by a lecture on Ibsen, given by Charrington the previous day in the School of Arts. The audience, reported by the *Herald* as "appreciative," was told that Ibsen only wrote "what he had lived through himself" ("Lecture Charrington" 10). Ibsen, according to Charrington, is a "strong, musical world-singer" (10). Only nine of his plays had yet been translated into English (10). Charrington made two protests against Ibsen's detractors. The first was that Ibsen was not, as some claimed, a "fad" that would wither and disappear;

the second, that his works were not "dull and didactic"; rather, Ibsen is an "idealogist" (sic) (10). While the *Herald* was voluble in its praise of the lecture, the *Illustrated Sydney News* felt Charrington was preaching to the converted ("Sydney Social" 9).

Achurch's social life away from her theatre work was also quite eventful at this time. As reported in the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 30 August, the day previous to the *Doll's House* matinee Achurch was among a large crowd at a reception held by Lady Carrington and attended by dignitaries of government and society ("Sydney Social" 8). The day after the matinee, Sunday 24 August, Achurch held an "At Home" at her residence at Vittoria House (9). A major attraction was "Miss Nora Charrington," then about three months of age (9). Two days later, on Tuesday, 26 August, the Charringtons were guests of the ladies of Victoria Barracks (8).

Her Majesty's Theatre: 6/9/1890 to 3/10/1890

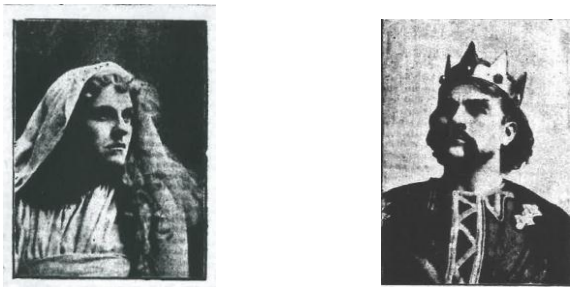
Upon closure of *Fédora* on Friday, 29 August 1890, Achurch and the company removed to Her Majesty's Theatre, for a season of *Macbeth*. The original plan had been to travel to Tasmania in early September. According to the *Launceston Examiner* of 19 August, she was to present *Doll's House*, *Fédora*, and *Frou-Frou* in Launceston before moving on to Hobart for a similar schedule ("Current Topics" 2). The Hobart *Mercury* was excited about the re-opening in September of the recently extensively-altered and refurbished Theatre Royal, with Achurch as the major attraction: "the rejuvenated building could not again court public favour under happier auspices" ("Our Letter Home" 4). A week later, on 25 August, the *Examiner* announced the cancellation of the trip, "occasioned by the seamens' [sic] strike" ("Current Topics" 2). This was the Maritime or Great Strike, involving transport, mining, and pastoral workers. At least one writer for a Launceston newspaper was cynical of the alteration to the itinerary:

> Miss Janet Achurch has, for the present at any rate, abandoned the idea of a Tasmanian trip. She states the strike is to blame. However, the following paragraph from a Sydney Journal may explain matters:– "Meg" will be succeeded at Her Majesty's Theatre by

> "Macbeth" next week. Mr Geo. Rignold will appear as Macbeth, Miss Janet Achurch as Lady Macbeth . . . (Touchstone 2)

Macbeth opened on Saturday, 6 September 1890, and ran for eighteen nights, managed by George Rignold. Rignold took the title role, with Achurch as Lady Macbeth, and Charrington as Macduff. Rignold claimed that obtaining Achurch for the lead female role enabled him to fulfil a long-time dream of mounting the play. As reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Saturday, 6 September 1890, Rignold asserted that the difficulties of producing such a play, and his doubts about his own ability to "properly portray the ignoble Thane," had forestalled him from previously mounting *Macbeth* (qtd. in "Her Majesty's" 7). Rignold went on to say, "When, however, Australia became enriched by the advent of an actress of the calibre of Miss Janet Achurch, and so soon as it became possible for me to secure her for the character of Lady Macbeth, I seized an opportunity which was not to be disregarded" (7).

Achurch's decision to remain in Sydney and play Lady Macbeth was rewarded. A report from Sydney published in Melbourne's *Argus* on 8 September considers that Achurch was "seen to greater advantage than in any character she has previously essayed here" ("Sydney Sun." 5). The *Sydney Morning Herald* of the same date is no less appreciative: "The acting feature of this revival is the appearance of Miss Janet Achurch . . . [who has] that artistic perception of the requirements of the character which has already done her such excellent service in other roles" ("Macbeth" 6).



Janet Achurch and George Rignold in *Macbeth* ("Sydney Social" 11)

Macbeth closed on Friday, 26 September 1890. The next night saw the opening of six nights of *The New Magdalen*. Its closure on Friday, 3 October also was the closure of Achurch's time at Her Majesty's and almost the end of her time in Sydney.

Criterion Theatre: 4/10/1890

On the afternoon of Saturday, 4 October, a benefit was held for Achurch at the Criterion, under the patronage of Lord and Lady Carrington. The publicised list of patrons for the benefit includes the Chief Justice, Sir Fred Darley and Mrs Darley; Justice Windeyer; the Mayor and Mayoress; ranking officers from the New South Wales army, cavalry, and mounted infantry; members of the peerage; and "a committee of the principal residents of Sydney" (Grand Matinee Benefit 2). The program was extensive. It included a recitation by Charrington, and Achurch in Acts 3 and 4 of *Camille* (Grand Matinee Benefit 2). It also featured the overture to the *Peer Gynt Suite* (2). According to the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 11 October, the theatre was "crowded from floor to ceiling" ("Sydney Social" 8). It was hoped that, upon Achurch's return from her New Zealand tour, she would present *Camille* in its entirety (8).

In a period of eleven weeks Achurch had undertaken sixty-seven performances in five different plays, as well as two acts from another. She consistently attracted good houses. *Frou-Frou* maintained full or near-full houses at the Criterion, which could hold upwards of 1,700. *Fédora* was attended by "crowded houses" throughout its season, according to the *Herald* on 23 August ("Criterion" 11). Achurch and Rignold drew large audiences to *Macbeth* at Her Majesty's, which could seat up to 3,000. *The New Magdalen* also kept the theatre well-filled. Perhaps the highest indication of Achurch's popularity was the list of patrons, and the reports of capacity attendances, at the Criterion for her farewell benefit. Achurch's name appears in the *Sydney Morning Herald*'s 31 December list of the city's "interesting" theatrical events for 1890. The item mentions the "most favourable impression" she made in *A Doll's House* at the Criterion, followed by *Frou-Frou* and *Fédora*, then the season of *Macbeth* at Her Majesty's ("Theatrical" 11). She is also mentioned in a reference to Rignold and his revival of *Macbeth* (11).

Achurch's social life became richer as time went by. There are no reports on her activities outside the theatre in the Melbourne and Adelaide papers in late 1889. By the time she returned to Melbourne in early 1890, she was holding "At Homes," no longer a newcomer to the colonies, although in the later stages of pregnancy. The "At Home" which had been held on 24 August 1890 when baby Nora was introduced to society was only one of several held in Sydney. The events were popular, and the reception rooms at Vittoria (in Woollahra) were usually crowded. The "At Home" held during the season of *Macbeth* on Friday, 12 September was, according to the *Illustrated Sydney News* the following day, held on stage at Her Majesty's because there was insufficient space at Vittoria ("Sydney Social" 10). Achurch's charitable acts no doubt contributed to her popularity. A donation of books for the patients at the Women's Hospital in Melbourne, for example, is noted in the report from the hospital committee meeting for 11 July, 1890 ("Women's Hospital" 12).

According to the *West Australian* on 12 September, 1891, Achurch was sought "by people of light and leading," not as the "artist of exceptional ability," but as "the cultured English gentlewoman" ("Miss Achurch Off the Stage" 6). She was known for her "bright intellect, her sympathetic and many-sided conversation, her unfailing geniality and her personal grace" (6). Her interest in the local arts scene was not restricted to theatre. The *Illustrated Sydney News* on 27 September 1890 notes that Achurch had purchased one of Arthur Streeton's works, entitled *A Study for Colour (No. 151)* ("Notes on Art" 16).[46] The writer for the *ISN* considered the painting not to be among the artist's best; neither, in their opinion, were two of Streeton's other works, *Sunlight Sweet, Coogee* and *The Blue Pacific* (16). *Coogee* sold for 2.4 million dollars in May 2005, and *Blue Pacific* was valued at one million dollars at the end of the 1990s. A search of the Internet unfortunately locates no reference to the work purchased by Achurch. It may have been lost during her travels, or perhaps it was sold later when the couple were in financial trouble, which dogged them after their return to England.

New Zealand: October 1890-January 1891

Achurch left Australia in October, 1890, for a tour of New Zealand. Reports appeared in Australian newspapers from time to time. There is a gap of about seven weeks following accounts of her Sydney farewell before her name is next mentioned. On 22 November 1890 the *Illustrated Sydney News* notes that, according to New Zealand press, a large audience at the Princess's Theatre in Dunedin had given Achurch an "enthusiastic" reception for *Camille* and *The New Magdalen* ("Sydney and Provincial" 9).

The tour was a success, and so, according to the press, was *A Doll's House*. The *Argus* of 28 January 1891 notes that the "Achurch Company" had left New Zealand after a "very successful" tour ("New Zealand" 8). The item appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* the same day, and in the *Mercury* on the 30th. The *Illustrated Sydney News* of 31 January reports that the New Zealand papers contained "glowing accounts" of Achurch's reception, especially for her new play, *Forget-me-not* ("Sydney Social" 12). The report notes that it was for her performances in *A Doll's House*, however, that critics gave her "the greatest amount of praise" (12). The *Brisbane Courier* records on 7 February that so large was one audience in Christchurch that in order to see the performance, the crowd "overflowed the auditorium and some 200 or 300 persons made their way onto the stage" ("Miss Janet Achurch" 5).

Not all notices coming from New Zealand were entirely favourable. On 23 May 1891, the *Illustrated Sydney News* published a whimsical entreaty from New Zealand for Australia to send them someone to make them laugh ("New Zealand" 7). Nothing Australia had sent since the "Ibsen people" had been there had made them do "anything but yawn" (7). It is not clear whether the "Ibsen people" had caused yawns, or whether it was later offerings that created the ennui. However, the item does note that the "Ibsenophiles" frightened New Zealand "into the blues" (7). No direct reference is made to Achurch.

The New Zealand success was maintained, according to an item in the *Brisbane Courier* of 4 February, "to the very last" ("To-day Feb. 4" 4). After her final performance in Auckland, in *Masks*

and Faces, Achurch "had to return again and again to bow her acknowledgements to the delighted audience," who threw "bouquet after bouquet" onto the stage (4). The company left Auckland on the *Mararoa* on or about 27 January 1891, arriving in Sydney on Sunday, 1 February. The following Tuesday they sailed on the *Burwah* to Brisbane, arriving on Thursday, 5 February.

Brisbane: February 1891

Theatre Royal: 7/2/1891 to 23/2/1891

On 27 January 1891 several separate one-line "teasers," making much use of capitals, appeared in the *Brisbane Courier*:

Page 1: "Don't forget 'A Doll's House'."

"When does 'A Doll's House' open?"

"Miss Janet Achurch in 'A Doll's House'."

Page 2: "Janet Achurch is bringing 'A Doll's House' along."

Page 8: "When will 'A Doll's House' arrive?"

"No Japanese Gimcrack, although 'A Doll's House'." (A Doll's House 1–8)

A paragraph in the same issue notes that Achurch was due to open at the Theatre Royal in Brisbane the following week ("To-day Jan. 27" 4).

Advertisements in more standard form began appearing in the *Brisbane Courier* at the end of January. According to one in the *Brisbane Courier* on 31 January, the opening number was to be *Forget-me-not* "by special arrangement with Miss Genevieve Ward" who was the "only exponent of the part" aside from Achurch (Theatre Royal 2).[47] The same advertisement was repeated in the *Courier* on 7 February. A separate article in the *Courier* that day related not to *Forget-me-not* but to the contribution Achurch and Charrington had made to the theatre in England and Australia by introducing Ibsen and *A Doll's House* ("Miss Janet Achurch" 5).

The first hints of Ibsen's new drama, *Hedda Gabler*, began emerging in the press about this time. A critique of the play by William Archer, published in a London paper, was reproduced in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 31 January 1891. Archer provides a detailed précis of the plot, and

claims the play to be one of Ibsen's best; in fact, probably his "technical masterpiece" (qtd. in "Ibsen's New Drama" 10).

Achurch opened in Brisbane on Saturday, 7 February 1891 as Stephanie de Mohrivart in *Forget-me-not*. The theatre was not full, reports the *Courier* the following Monday, but there was a "large and fashionable audience" ("Theatre Royal: Achurch" 5). The review notes Achurch's "fine stage presence" and "very musical voice" (5). The play was repeated on the following Monday and Tuesday.

A Doll's House opened on Wednesday, 11 February for a successful three-night season. The drama "held the attention of a crowded audience riveted on the stage from the rising to the fall of the curtain," according to the *Courier* on 12 February ("Miss Achurch: Royal: 'Doll'" 5). No rude interruptions marred the performance; in fact, as the play neared its climax, "the auditorium . . . was as silent as if it had been empty" (5). The next night, so great was the crowd that there was insufficient seating even for those who had booked ahead ("To-day Feb. 13" 4). Additional seating must have been provided for the final performance on Friday: "large as had been the audiences on previous occasions," the *Brisbane Courier* reports, "this was the best house of the season" ("To-day Feb. 14" 4).

A Doll's House was replaced on 14 February by a short run of *Masks and Faces*. It failed to hold audience attention, with several patrons leaving before each act was over ("'Masks and Faces'" 5). It was replaced on 18 and 19 February by *Devil Caresfoot*, the success of which, according to an item in the *Argus* on 21 February, was most decided ("Brisbane, Fri." 10). So popular was the Brisbane season that Queensland Railways announced that they would delay their 10.35pm Brisbane to Ipswich train for ten minutes for the next few nights to permit patrons to attend Achurch's performances (Queensland Railways 1).

Friday, 20 February saw a special staging of *Camille*. It was to be under vice-regal patronage, but at the last minute Acting Governor Sir Arthur Palmer refused to attend. A letter from his aide-de-camp was delivered to the theatre and read out by Charrington part-way through the play. Sir

Arthur, after agreeing to lend his patronage and presence at the performance, had now read *La Dame aux Camélias*, the book on which the play had been based, and objected to attending such a play with his ladies. The performance went ahead, however, "before a very large and brilliant assemblage" ("'Camille'" 5). "On the whole," the *Courier* reports, "the audience were enthusiastic, and recalls were frequent" (5).

The New Magdalen was presented the next night, to good reviews. The following Monday, 23 February, *Forget-me-not* was repeated as a benefit for Achurch. The Brisbane to Ipswich train was again delayed by Queensland Railways. The benefit was held before a large and "fashionable" audience, with the theatre "crowded in every part" ("To-day Feb. 24" 4). It brought to a close what the *Brisbane Courier* considered a "brief but most brilliant season" (4). Achurch performed on fourteen consecutive nights (excluding Sundays) in six different dramas. The Theatre Royal had the capacity of over 1,300, but houses were consistently full or nearly so. The success of the Achurch-Charrington season had fulfilled hopes expressed by the *Brisbane Courier* of 6 February that Achurch's arrival would inject new enthusiasm into the city's theatrical life ("Week's Proceedings" 7).

Achurch continued to share the city's social life and contribute to charitable endeavours. On Saturday, 21 February she and the rest of the company were guests at a picnic up the Brisbane River (Johnsonian Club Picnic 1). Members of the company also assisted in the staging of Dion Boucicault's *Arrah-na-Pogue* (1864) at the Opera House as a benefit for theatre staff ("Summary of News" 4). On February 24, Achurch and her company left Brisbane by boat for Sydney, arriving on the 26th. They departed Sydney the next day for Melbourne and their third season in that centre.

Melbourne: March-April 1891

<u>Bijou Theatre: 7/3/1891 to 17/4/1891</u>

The season at the Bijou opened on Saturday, 7 March 1891 with *Devil Caresfoot*, which continued for six nights until Friday, 13 March. Again, it was well-received. It was followed by *Forget-me-not* over the next eleven nights, from Saturday, 14 March to Thursday, 26 March. If there was any consistent criticism, now, and into the future, it related to Achurch's voice.[48] The *Argus* of

16 March notes that while Achurch had the ability to "thrill . . . by the magic of her acting" and that her voice was "clear, strong, resonant," it also complains:

> She runs up and down the gamut without any reference to the requirements of the dialogue; is fond of broadening the sound of the vowel o; indulges in abrupt transitions from forte to piano unwarranted by the emotions by which she is supposed to be actuated; frequently delivers the closing words of a sentence in an inaudible whisper; and has acquired a habit of introducing staccato notes without rhyme or reason. Such vocal gymnastics are greatly to be regretted . . . ("Bijou: 'Forget-me-not'" 7)

Despite these critical challenges the play was well received by the public and, according to the *Mercury*, its season was extended due to its popularity ("Our Melb. Ladies'" 3).

Masks and Faces opened on Saturday, 28 March and ran for nine nights until Tuesday, 7 April. There is no report of unruly behaviour as had been encountered in Brisbane. It continued to attract "excellent audiences," according to the *Argus*, but "in spite of its success" management was acceding to public request, and replacing it with *Doll's House* ("Sat. Apr. 4 1891" 9). The inference is that *Doll's House* had not been included on the company's original schedule for this Melbourne season; it had also not been staged during the second visit to the city.

A Doll's House was staged for six nights, from Wednesday, 8 April to Tuesday, 14 April, and was well-received. In the opinion of the *Argus*, the play's debut in September 1889 had presented audiences with an unfamiliar concept, although it was gaining "an increasing hold of the public" ("Thu. Apr. 9 1891" 5). It now was made "abundantly clear" by the play's "intelligent reception" that audiences were more familiar with, and accepting of, Ibsen's way of thinking (5). It was originally intended to run *Doll's House* for only three nights: a play new to the tour repertoire, *The Wager*,[49] was advertised for Saturday the 11th, but it was cancelled in favour of three additional nights of *Doll's House*. Wednesday 15 and Thursday 16 April saw *The New Magdalen*. The final performance on Friday, 17 April was *Forget-me-not* as a benefit for Achurch. Governor Hope[50] and his party were among the "large and fashionable audience," notes the *Argus*, and "lavish applause

was bestowed on Miss Achurch, the other members of the company also being favoured with a demonstration of approval" ("Sat. Apr. 18 1891" 9).

During this six-week period, Achurch appeared in six different plays and thirty productions. One would have far-reaching effects for Australia. On the afternoon of Saturday, 4 April, the Charringtons donated the use of the Bijou Theatre, their services, and their skills for a benefit for a blind student, Tilly Aston. According to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Matilda ("Tilly") Ann Aston (1873–1947) learned Braille and entered the University of Melbourne at sixteen to undertake an arts degree, although ill health and lack of Braille textbooks forced her to leave in her second year. In 1894 she established the Victorian Association of Braille Writers (later the Victorian Braille Library), and went on to found the Association for Advancement of the Blind, now Vision Australia.

A fund to assist Tilly to pursue her university studies was opened by the Austral Salon, a society of ladies whose objective was the intellectual advancement of women. The Charringtons donated the Bijou "free of all cost" for a charity performance, with "some of the best dramatic and musical artistes in the city" volunteering their services ("Victorian Social" 12). Most seats were pre-booked, and attendance was large (12). Achurch in the role of Portia presented the trial scene from *The Merchant of Venice*. It was later reported that proceeds from the benefit were approximately £200 ("Matilda Aston Benefit" 7).

The Charringtons continued to enjoy a social life. They held an "At Home" on the stage of the Bijou during the season of *Forget-me-not* ("Victorian Social" 12). About three hundred guests were present, reports the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 11 April, including "many representatives of the fashion, learning, and art of the city," as well as the Italian Consul (12). On 31 March, Charrington invited the members of the Tasmanian bowling teams, in Melbourne for a tournament with the Carlton club, to be his guests at that night's performance of *Masks and Faces* ("Melbourne, Mar. 31" 3). It was later reported in the *Launceston Examiner* that most accepted the offer ("Bowling" 3).

Ballarat and Bendigo: April-May 1891

Academy of Music, Ballarat: 18/4/1891 to 24/4/1891

The day after the final show in Melbourne, the company travelled to Ballarat, opening that same night at the Academy of Music. The exact schedule for the six-day season is not known. According to Gordon-Clark, the first four performances included *Forget-me-not* and *The New Magdalen* (308). *A Doll's House* was performed on the final two nights, Thursday, 23 and Friday, 24 April (247). That Achurch was met with esteem is evident from an item in the *Argus* of 22 April, which reports a large attendance at Ballarat's Eight Hour Day[51] celebrations despite inclement weather ("Celebration at Ballarat" 6). One of the foot-races was the "Old Buffers' Race, 440 yards"; the prize: "The Janet Achurch Cup" (6). Whether this prize was named in Achurch's honour, or whether she donated the cup, is not recorded.

Royal Princess Theatre, Bendigo: 25/4/1891 to 1/5/1891

Leaving Ballarat on Saturday, 25 April, the company moved on to Bendigo, opening that night at the Royal Princess Theatre. Again, the full six-day schedule is not known, except that it included *Forget-me-not* and *The New Magdalen*, with *A Doll's House* on the final two nights, Thursday, 30 April and Friday, 1 May (Gordon-Clark 308). It is probable that *Camille* or *Devil Caresfoot* were also staged in both Ballarat and Bendigo, because they were prominent in the schedules preceding and following these seasons.

It can be surmised that with long travel, and performing at least twelve shows in two weeks, the company must have been exhausted. For Achurch particularly, the exigencies of tending an eleven-month-old child, on top of normal day to day activities, travel, performance, and packing and unpacking, must have been debilitating. That is perhaps one reason why the second Sydney season did not commence until 9 May, although much of the intervening week would have been taken up with travelling the 535 miles (861 kilometres) from Bendigo, resting, and rehearsing.

Sydney: May-June 1891

Garrick Theatre: 9/5/1891 to 26/6/1891

Sydney welcomed Achurch's return. *Masks and Faces* opened at the Garrick Theatre on Saturday, 9 May to a good house and good reviews. The *Sydney Morning Herald*'s long review notes the "bumper house," with the "dress circle in particular being completely filled by a discriminating audience" ("'Masks': Garrick" 7). Each of the cast members of the "excellent company" receives approval, as do the "appointments and general effect" (7). The play's run continued for a further eleven nights, closing on Friday, 22 May.

Masks and Faces was followed by *Forget-me-not* on Saturday, 23 May, 1891. In the only review in the six-night run, the *Herald* of 25 May reports another large audience ("'Forget-me-not': Garrick" 6). According to the review, although Genevieve Ward had made this play her own, no-one left the theatre disappointed, and Achurch "scored a distinct success" (6). The play closed on Friday, 29 May, with *Camille* opening the next night. A report in the *Herald* the following Monday opens with the coincidence that the play was on in two Australian cities simultaneously ("Miss Achurch as Camille" 3). At the same time that Achurch was appearing as Marguerite before a "well-filled house" in Sydney, Sarah Bernhardt (referred to only as "the gifted tragedienne") was performing the same role in Melbourne, having arrived in the country the previous week (3). The play ran for six nights, closing on Friday, 5 June.

The New Magdalen opened on Saturday, 6 June 1891, preceded by a charity matinee of *A Doll's House*. *Magdalen* was repeated on Monday and Tuesday. Pinero's *The Money Spinner* ran from Wednesday, 10 June until Tuesday, 16 June; Wednesday 17, Thursday 18, and Friday 19 June saw a further season of *Forget-me-not*. The *Herald* reports a "fair" first-night attendance despite "the excitement of the elections"[52] and "unpropitious" weather ("Fri. June 19 1891" 5). Achurch is reported as performing without her "accustomed vigour" (5).

The staging of a play new to Achurch's Australian repertoire, *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, which ran over three nights from Saturday, 20 June to Tuesday, 23 June, permitted the *Herald* to again make

reference to Bernhardt, to Achurch's benefit.[53] Bernhardt was booked to play Adrienne a few weeks later. The review states that:

> Miss Achurch has attempted a daring thing. There is nothing surprising in this, for the lady who has had the courage to introduce Ibsen to hostile audience after audience, and by sheer force of dramatic ability to popularise the great Norwegian writer, need not be afraid of the advent of the greatest of French actresses. ("Garrick: 'Adrienne'" 3)

The *Herald* compares Achurch in the roles of Adrienne and Nora: "Perhaps she has never, in Australia at any rate, given us so strong an illustration of her talent. Not even excepting Norah [sic] . . ." (3). *A Doll's House* closed the Sydney season on Wednesday the 24th and Thursday the 25th. A "good house" witnessed the company repeat their former success, and the play "completely held the interest of the audience" ("Thu. June 25 1891" 4–5).

The company's time in Sydney ended on a high note. On Friday, 26 June *Adrienne Lecouvreur* was repeated as a farewell benefit for Achurch. It was performed to a large and enthusiastic crowd, according to the *Herald* ("Garrick: Farewell" 10). The Governor, Lord Jersey[54] and Lady Jersey extended their patronage to the benefit. According to the *Herald*, Achurch and Charrington had "won the hearts of at least a section of the Sydney playgoing public" (10). There was a "personal element noticeable, a feeling that it was not Adrienne but Janet Achurch who was leaving" (10). The article expresses disappointment that the Charringtons could not have brought more of Ibsen's works to the city (10).

Over this seven-week period Achurch performed in seven plays, including two not previously in her program, in forty-three performances. One was a charity matinee of *A Doll's House*. The matinee was held on the afternoon of Saturday, 6 June in support of the Women's College Fund, under the patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Mayor, the University Chancellor, and other dignitaries ("Sat. May 30 1891" 9). Lord and Lady Jersey were not present. Lady Jersey had refused to sponsor the performance and references to the ensuing controversy were to continue for many months.

The performance attracted a full house. A "thoroughly representative audience" filled the theatre, according to the *Herald* ("Women's College" 3). The upper gallery was reserved for undergraduates from the University of Sydney, including "a large proportion of lady students" (3). The endeavour was a success, enabling the Women's College Fund to buy needed equipment. The *Illustrated Sydney News* reports on 4 July that the Ladies' Committee thanked the Achurch-Charrington Company for the contribution of £129.3.6 ("Sydney Social" 6). Coincidentally, on the same day, the *Mercury* newspaper records that *Ibsen's Prose Dramas* had been added to the Tasmanian Public Library ("Tasmanian Public Library" 2).

Goulburn, Wagga Wagga, Albury, Benalla, Geelong, Warrnambool, and Hamilton: July 1891

On Saturday, 27 June 1891 the company commenced a one month tour of smaller centres in New South Wales and Victoria, *en route* to Broken Hill. According to an item from the *Bulletin* published in Broken Hill's *Barrier Miner* on 27 June, the company were booked to appear "successively at Goulburn, Wagga, Albury, Geelong, Adelaide, and Broken Hill," with arrangements made by Mr Cunard, now managing the troupe ("Concentrates" 2).

Goulburn, Wagga Wagga, Albury, Benalla, and Geelong,

There is no record confirming stopovers in Goulburn or Albury. The company were due to perform in the Oddfellows Hall at Wagga Wagga on Thursday and Friday, 2 and 3 July but flooding had caused widespread damage ("Wagga Floods" 6). The underground portion of the hall was flooded, with evacuated families accommodated in the dress circle (6). Performances were abandoned, and the company continued south (6).

A scheduled performance in the Shire Hall, Benalla, on Monday, 6 July was also cancelled. It was to have been *A Doll's House*, according to the *North Eastern Ensign* (Shire Hall 2). The *Ensign* notes the disappointment of those who arrived at the theatre only to discover that the company had not been able to fulfil their engagement ("Fri. July 10 1891" 2). The company moved on to Geelong for a three night season. The venue and repertoire are not known, but according to Gordon-Clark the season ran from Thursday, 9 July to Saturday, 11 July (248).

Warrnambool: 13/7/1891 to 16/7/1891

Geelong was followed by Warrnambool, where the company was greeted with enthusiasm. The local correspondent for the *Portland Guardian* welcomed the rare opportunity of a "better class" of drama, with a projected schedule of four different pieces over four nights ("Warrnambool" 3). The season opened on Monday, 13 July with *Forget-me-not*. The decision to start with this work, according to the correspondent, was "a blunder" that caused a few challenges in inducing the public to attend on ensuing nights (3). Achurch was not at her best, and is compared quite unfavourably with Ward, of whom "most local playgoers have a vivid recollection" (3). The performances of *Doll's House* and *Camille* (exact dates not known) were "more acceptable," despite Achurch's "staginess," which detracted from the effect (3). As for *Doll's House*, the "Ibsen craze" had not really reached Warrnambool, according to the *Guardian*, so the play "came upon the audience . . . with a rather startling effect" (3). The season closed on Thursday, 16 July. The next recorded season is in Broken Hill, two weeks later.

Since leaving Sydney, Achurch and her company, over a five week period, had travelled at least 1,200 miles (1,930km), performing in at least six centres. It appears that the repertoire was restricted to *A Doll's House*, *Forget-me-not*, and *Camille*. The travel must not have been easy or comfortable for any of the company: through rain, hail, and floods, in the middle of an Australian winter.

Broken Hill: August 1891

Theatre Royal: 1/8/1891 to 17/8/1891

Achurch's arrival in Broken Hill was keenly anticipated by the mining town. In addition to advertisements, the newspaper published six items dedicated to Achurch's upcoming season before her arrival, and fourteen during and shortly after the season. An article on 25 July 1891 in the *Barrier Miner* considers Achurch to be an actress almost without peer, second only to Bernhardt in "certain of the parts in which she will appear" ("Achurch" 3). "The visit of Miss Achurch is,"

opines the newspaper on 29 July, "in a theatrical sense, the most important that has yet been made to Broken Hill" ("Achurch" 3).

The company was booked for seven or eight nights, but the season extended for twice that time. It opened with two performances of *Forget-me-not*, on Saturday, 1 August and Monday, 3 August. Despite reports that "every gutter [was] a rivulet and every footpath a quagmire," the Theatre Royal was full ("'Forget-me-not'" 2). The play received good reviews. The second night was again in front of a "large and enthusiastic audience," who also witnessed the "entirely successful" first use of limelight in the theatre ("Theatre Royal" 2).

Camille opened on Tuesday, 4 August. An advertisement in the *Barrier Miner* that day notes that it would be "under the immediate patronage of his Excellency the Earl of Jersey, Governor of New South Wales, and Suite, and his Excellency the Earl of Kintore, Governor of South Australia" (Theatre Royal 3). The play was repeated on the 5th, followed by three nights of *The New Magdalen* from Thursday, 6 August. The theatre was "full to overflowing" and the performance was "the greatest success . . . so far," according to the *Barrier Miner* the next day ("'New Magdalen'" 2). The play was repeated on Friday and Saturday, the final performance as a benefit for Achurch.

On Monday the 10th, Broken Hill was notified by the *Barrier* that the company were "so satisfied with their reception" in the city that their season was to be extended a further six nights ("Concentrates" 2). A crowded theatre was predicted for the opening night of Ibsen's play that night (2). The review the following day is cautiously optimistic. It acknowledges that while from an "artistic point of view" the play was a success, it was "scarcely" popular ("Ibsen: Broken Hill" 2). The large audience was attentive: "owing to the fact that the motive of the play had been outlined clearly in the Press, there was no difficulty in understanding even the minutiæ" (2). Although *A Doll's House* did not grab "entire hold" of the audience, considers the review, its "carefully constructed plot" ensured that for many, the "dramatic revelation" of the climax was "as agreeable as it was surprising" (2).

An opinion on the same page as the review considers the play to be far too instructional. According to the correspondent, "if the people are to be preached to they prefer to go to church, where they can escape with the contribution of at most sixpence a head" ("Lecture-Play" 2). They do, however, acknowledge Ibsen as a "thorough master of intense dramatic situation": to miss his "lecture-play" is also to miss a "masterpiece" (2). They consider that any patronage which Ibsen may have achieved would be less through popularity and more through curiosity, and through "the great ability possessed by the very few exponents of Ibsen—of whom Janet Achurch is first—upon the dramatic stage" (2). Curiosity, or Achurch's ability, must have prevailed. Attendance on the second night was again "very large," and "the utmost interest was taken in the extraordinary drama" ("Accident" 2).

In an interview some years later, repeated in the *Barrier Miner* on 24 June 1904, Achurch is recorded as saying that, feeling that the play might not be received readily, it was only due to pressure of public demand that *Doll's House* was added to the original schedule. For one audience member, it should not have been. On the first night, Achurch informed the *Glasgow Evening News,* the theatre was crowded with miners, with a few "swells" in evening dress ("'Doll': Broken Hill" 3). The item continues:

> The play went on, and the faces of the stalwart, rugged miners, were a study as it neared the bewildering, unconventional end. Nora made her dramatic exit into the darkness, and Helmer, looking around his desolate home, exclaimed, "Empty! She's gone!" To which one of the "claw hammer" brigade in front, thinking, no doubt, of his expensive war paint, added, in a tone of the most pathetic sorrow, "So's my — money." (3)

Forget-me-not was repeated on Wednesday, 12 August, and *Camille* the following night. Friday, 14 August saw a new addition to the repertoire: *Still Waters Run Deep,* mounted with the assistance of members of the Broken Hill Dramatic Club. It ran for three nights, and concluded the Broken Hill season. The final performance, another benefit for Achurch, attracted a large audience. Achurch was presented with a "handsome silken 'bill of the play', printed in gold" ("Miss

Achurch's Benefit" 3). On Tuesday, 18 August the company left Broken Hill by train for the journey to Adelaide. They opened there the next weekend for a short but significant season: on the program were both *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler*.

Adelaide: August 1891

Albert Hall: 22/8/1891 to 26/8/1891

The Theatre Royal in Adelaide, where Achurch had appeared during her earlier visit, was already in use by the Dampier Company, which was staging *Robbery Under Arms*. Achurch had to make do with the Albert Hall, which had been little used for dramatic performances because of its inconvenient stage and uncomfortable auditorium. The *Advertiser* of 22 August notes its regret at the non-availability of the Royal for Achurch, but expresses its approval of the changes Charrington had made to the Hall ("Theatre Royal: Achurch-Charrington" 6).

Merchandising material began to appear at this time. Beneath advertisements for *Forget-me-not*, *A Doll's House*, and *Hedda Gabler* are offered: "Photos of Janet Achurch in all the above characters for sale at the music warehouses, one shilling each" (Photographs 2). At about this time, too, *Dawn* magazine was offering a photograph of Achurch as an optional bonus for new subscriptions.

The season opened with *Forget-me-not* on Saturday, 22 August 1891. Despite the drawbacks of the Albert Hall and a downpour of rain which drowned out part of the dialogue, the play was, according to the *Advertiser* on 24 August, a success ("Albert Hall" 7). The cast made the best of the situation, performing "conscientiously," according to the mild review (7). The *South Australian Register* makes similar remarks. The play as interpreted by this company, considers the reviewer, would not easily be dismissed from the memory of those witnessing it, and, all in all, "we would sooner see it again than the 'Doll's House'" (6).

The *Register* was of the same opinion after *A Doll's House* was staged on Monday, 24 August under the patronage of the Mayor of Adelaide, Lewis Cohen. The paper's review the following day recognises Achurch's "artful" interpretation of Nora, a character which she had "seemingly gauged

. . . to the bottom" ("Albert Hall: 'Doll'" 6). Her performance was a "more subdued rendering" than during her first visit to Adelaide, although the reviewer acknowledges that that may have been due to the narrowness of the stage not permitting freer movement (6). According to the review, Nora is "that wildly improbable, flighty female"; the play "furnishes so little to a pleasure-loving people"; and "Ibsenity is not likely to become epidemic in Adelaide" (6). The large audience was "attentive and appreciative in a semi-apathetic fashion" (6).

The *Advertiser* took a different view. According to their report, the play attracted a large audience, comprising those who had not seen it before but were enticed by the enduring discussions on Ibsen and his works, and those who had seen it before and wished to repeat the experience ("Albert Hall" 6). Achurch had earned her recent reputation in the London press as "the ideal exponent of Ibsen's heroine," with a "powerful and clever" performance (6). So good was her acting, in fact, that despite the often "distasteful developments" in the plot, Nora was able to hold audience sympathy (6).

On Tuesday, 25 August, 1891 *Hedda Gabler* premiered on the Australian stage. The response of both audience and reviewers (as reported in the two local newspapers) could be summed up as "disappointed" and, maybe, "bored." The *South Australian Register* of 26 August records that the audience (which included Earl and Countess Kintore) was "perhaps more curious than critical" ("Albert Hall: 'Hedda'" 6). Hedda is likened to a serpent, simultaneously fascinating and repelling, while Ibsen is like a surgeon, carefully and coldly dissecting a female heart (6). The play is dreary, and apart from Achurch, the performers were unequal to their task (6). The audience, although listening with "respectful attention," "did not evince much enthusiasm till near the end—the ruling feeling seemed to be disappointment" (6). The final sentence of the review perhaps communicates the sentiments on *Hedda*: "Tonight Miss Achurch appears in comedy" (6). The *Advertiser*, although more sympathetic than the *Register*, echoes its views. Hedda, according to the *Advertiser*, is hard to analyse, but her "thirst for revenge . . . is positively diabolical" ("Albert Hall" 7).

The steamer on which the company was booked for their travel to Western Australia was not able to sail on the 26th as scheduled. The company added one further night to their season to allow a benefit for Herbert Flemming. The season therefore closed on Wednesday, 26 August with *Still Waters Run Deep*, again under the patronage and presence of the Earl and Countess Kintore. The reviews in both newspapers on the 27th are positive, but both also take the opportunity of comparing the play with *Doll's House* and *Hedda*. "It was a foregone conclusion," suggests the *Register*, "that many people would go to see the piece, if it was only for the sake of comparing comedy with the drama after Ibsen" ("Benefit: Flemming" 6). "There was a general desire to see Miss Achurch in comedy," comments the *Advertiser*, and "the contrast between the impersonation of one of Taylor's heroines and the embodiment of one of Ibsen's mysterious creations was sufficiently marked to satisfy the most exacting among the audience" ("Albert Hall" 7). The company left Adelaide on Saturday, 29 August 1891, by the *Bullara*, bound for Albany.

A fascinating anecdote from this time comes out in an article in the *Advertiser* twenty-five years later, shortly after Achurch's death. It is in an interview with composer Charles Cawthorne, who provided the orchestral accompaniment to the company during this visit, and provides a small insight into Achurch the woman. Cawthorne considered Achurch "a very clever and beautiful woman" – and "practical" (qtd. in "Lifetime: Music" 9). "One day when I visited the theatre," says Cawthorne, "I found her with a towel wrapped round her head vigorously sweeping the stage. The man who should have done it had had rather too gay a time on the previous night and had not recovered. So the fashionable star, rather than risk the stage being left untidy, did the cleaning up herself" (9).[55]

Albany, Perth, Fremantle, York, Northam: September-October 1891

Audiences in Western Australia were eager for good dramatic entertainment. They were keenly awaiting the arrival of Achurch ("a theatrical 'star' of more than average magnitude") and her co-star Charrington ("an actor of more than usual ability") ("News and Notes" 4). The visit, suggests the *West Australian* on 27 August, "may certainly be described as an event in the scanty

histrionic records of the colony" (4). A separate article in the same issue laments the lack of a suitable venue in Perth for dramatic productions, and regrets that only St George's Hall, which had "much that is unsuitable and hardly anything which is suitable," was available for "such a one" as Achurch ("Vigilans" 4).

Town Hall, Albany: 7/9/1891 to 8/9/1891; Town Hall, York: 10/9/1891; and Northam: 11/9/1891

The first performances in the isolated community were in Albany, *Forget-me-not* on 7 September and *Camille* on 8 September, 1891. The Town Hall was full on both nights, despite there being no props. Adding to the turmoil of a late arrival in Albany by the delayed departure of the *Bullara*, the company's luggage and stage properties had been accidentally shipped to Melbourne.

The response to *Forget-me-not* was only positive. Achurch's acting is described in the *West Australian* on 8 September as "the best yet seen in the colony and fully bears out the high eulogiums of the English and Colonial press" ("Miss Achurch: Albany" 5). The following night, the audience for *Camille* included residents from Torbay, fourteen miles (23km) distant, who had chartered a special train for the event ("News from Albany" 5). The play, which the *Inquirer and Commercial News* considered "altogether of a higher class than anything previously produced here," held the audience "spell bound" (5). There is no record of a performance on Wednesday, 9 September, which was no doubt spent travelling to York. *Forget-me-not* was performed on Thursday, 10 September in the Town Hall at York, and the next day in Northam. On Saturday, 12 September, the company travelled by train to Perth.

St George's Hall, Perth: 14/9/1891 to 16/9/1891

A large reception met the company upon arrival at Perth station at 2 o'clock, including local dignitaries. Among them, according to the *West Australian* of 14 September, was the Premier, Sir John Forrest[56] and Lady Forrest, and the Mayor of Perth ("News and Notes" 4). That afternoon they were taken on a tour of the city, where they were to stay at the Governor Broome Hotel (4). That night, reports the *Inquirer and Commercial News* on the 16th, the Charringtons were guests of the Governor and Lady Robinson at a dinner and reception attended by local luminaries of government,

law, and society ("General News" 5). At this time, the company comprised Achurch, Charrington, and Flemming; Alice Bolton, Alice May, and Meta Pelham; Harry Power; and advance agent Cunard.

The season in Perth opened on Monday, 14 September with *Forget-me-not*. The *Daily News* on 15 September described Achurch as "a mistress of her art"; as for the rest of the cast, "acting is a fine art and not a pastime"[57] ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Forget-me-not'" 3). Of as much importance to the reviewer as the performance, however, was its meaning for theatre in the city. The event demonstrated that "Western Australia is no longer out of the world," and could hold its own with any audience in Australia (3). The reviewer in the *West Australian* of the same date expresses similar sentiments. Achurch's impersonation of Stephanie is "beyond all praise" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Forget-me-not'" 5). "Take either Miss Achurch by herself, or her company as a whole," the reviewer opines, "both are undoubtedly the best that have yet visited Western Australia" (5).

The *West Australian* report on 16 September for *Camille* the previous evening notes an "undiminished attendance" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Camille'" 3). The performance confirmed for the newspaper that "we have amongst us . . . the most noteworthy dramatic troupe which has yet been seen in the colony" (3). Despite the over-long intervals between acts, Achurch, Charrington, and the rest of the cast receive high accolades (3). The length of the intervals, which extended the play until 11.30pm, is also an issue for the *Inquirer and Commercial*, together with a complaint about the piano accompaniment. The music, according to the review, was "drummed out with a hand of iron on a piano of wood" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Camille'" 3). Despite these challenges, the audience remained "raptly interested," including those standing in the lobbies for lack of room in the theatre (3).

A Doll's House was performed on Wednesday, 16 September for the first time in Western Australia. It is plain from the very long reviews in the *Daily News* and the *West Australian* that both reviewers are Ibsen sympathisers. Although there was a heated and prolonged debate by local correspondents through letters to the editor, it was the only time in the tour that Ibsen, *Doll's House*,

and Nora attracted simultaneous critical approval. It is possible that both reviews were written by the same person, but it is not likely, given that the articles were published the day following the performance, and the writing styles are different. A précis illustrates the general tone:

Daily News:

Achurch:	An "actress of the very highest order."
Ibsen:	"Is at war with the shams and conventionalities of modern life."
Doll's House:	A play about ordinary people doing ordinary things: "no allegory and parable, no forced metaphor." It "compelled attention, and fascinated many in spite of themselves."
Nora:	"The child wife, the trival [sic] being[,] the unfledged soul—in fact the product in so many homes of modern prejudice misunderstanding and environment." ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Doll'" 3)

West Australian:

Achurch:	"Artistically pleasing": "none of the ordinary stock-in-trade of the actress was visible."
Ibsen:	Removes the stereotypes which make today's stage so wearying: his characters act like real people.
Doll's House:	"A passionate appeal for the development of individuality": designed "not to tickle our emotions . . . but to make us think."
Nora:	A "creature of circumstance": "when under the stress of a great crisis her dormant individuality awakens and she begins the solemn task of learning her own self." ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Doll'" 5).

The audience was not so united. According to the *Daily News*, those attending comprised both "the confessed sceptic and scoffer" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Doll'" 3). The *News* continues, "many present . . . openly rebelled at and derided the scheme and the moral of the drama" (3). All, however, were "obviously interested," and "many, we are glad to say, were deeply enthralled" (3).

Or, as the *West Australian* puts it, the play did not win popularity, but "thanks to Miss Achurch's acting it compelled attention, and from some, no doubt, it secured unbounded admiration" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Doll'" 5).

Town Hall, Fremantle: 17/9/1891 to 19/9/1891

On Thursday, 17 September 1891, the company travelled to Fremantle for the first of two visits. They were met by the Mayor, his wife, and a "number of leading townspeople," reports the *West Australian* of the 18th ("News and Notes" 4). The company opened that night with *Forget-me-not*. Over five hundred attended: "probably the largest audience that has yet witnessed a theatrical performance in this colony" (4). The play, staged at the Town Hall (a "spacious and fine building"), was interrupted repeatedly, according to the *Daily News* the following day, not by the rude and unruly, but by applause ("General News" 3). The very favourable review recommends that Fremantle playgoers not miss *A Doll's House* (3). The hall was again crowded for *Camille* on the 18th. The performance was reported by the *West Australian* the following day as being as good as that in Perth, and each curtain fall was to "prolonged applause" ("News and Notes" 4).

The press responses to *A Doll's House*, staged on 19 September, were not as enthusiastic. Reviews were brief. The *Daily News* of 21 September simply reports a "very good audience," that the play "ran with great smoothness," and that Achurch and Charrington's acting was frequently applauded ("General News" 3). The short *West Australian* report of the same day is almost identical.

St George's Hall, Perth: 21/9/1891 to 23/9/1891

The return to Perth commenced with *The New Magdalen* on Monday, 21 September. The *Daily News* review the next morning opens with praise, not for Achurch, but for Charrington as the leading male. The character of Reverend Julian Gray, suggests the writer, is usually "tiresome," but Charrington made him appear "a very fine fellow indeed" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Magdalen'" 3). Achurch had "certain lapses" during the prologue, although she recovered to become "remarkably powerful" for the rest of the play (3).

The New Magdalen, in the opinion of the review in the *West Australian* of 22 September, was the antithesis of *A Doll's House*: where *Doll's House* reveals human nature, *Magdalen* conceals it ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Magdalen'" 5). Taken together, suggests the writer, *Magdalen* is more to popular taste, although it is difficult deciding whether Achurch "excels in one part more than another" (5). The review concludes with a preview of *Hedda Gabler*, to be staged that evening.

The second Australian staging of *Hedda* was preceded by a two-hour lecture by Charrington, held at 4 o'clock in St George's Hall. According to the *Inquirer and Commercial* on the 23rd, the small attendance (including the Premier and Lady Forrest) discovered that Charrington was not only "a sound actor but that he is also a lecturer of considerable ability" ("General News" 3). The talk commenced with a biography of Ibsen, continued with an explanation of his various dramatic "periods," and concluded with a reading of *Brand* (3). The *West Australian* suggests that anyone who had seen *Doll's House* and formed a narrow view of Ibsen's dramas would have been enlightened by the lecture ("Vigilans" 4). "Worldly success and conventional respectability" are still worshipped by society, but only in fiction do good and right always triumph, suggests the writer (4). The report concludes with: "If Ibsen gave us nothing but the very contrary to this [fictional ending], he would be worthy of some study whether we liked him or not" (4). Much of the lecture itself, and all five acts of *Brand*, were published in the same newspaper the following day, the 24th.

Perth was looking forward to *Hedda Gabler*. A paragraph in the *Daily News* review of *Magdalen* reminds readers that the play was to be performed in Perth for only the second time in Australia, noting its recent debut in London ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Magdalen'" 3). It is considered to be Achurch's "greatest creation" (3). "It will be interesting for a Perth audience," the *Daily News* continues, "to behold her in a part in which London critics are anxiously waiting the opportunity of seeing and criticising her" (3).

Achurch did not need to wait until reaching London for criticism. The response of the press and the audience to *Hedda* when it was performed on the 22nd was little better than hostile. Achurch and the supporting cast were, for the most part, "admirable" but the staging of another

Ibsen play was, according to the *West Australian*, a "bold experiment," especially when *Doll's House* was not to popular taste ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Hedda'" 5). The character of Hedda is, according to the review, "an abnormality rather than a type," and Ibsen must have drawn "almost entirely on his own imagination" (5). Such people must exist, but "happily it is the lot of very few people to be brought into contact with these monsters in human shape" (5).

The short review in the *Inquirer and Commercial* the same day is uniformly scathing, of the performance, the play, and the protagonist. The acting was unconvincing and "on the whole was unworthy of this clever company" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Hedda'" 3). There appears to have been insufficient rehearsal, and the performance "caused a feeling of disappointment mingled with disgust" (3). The play is "loathsome"; Hedda, too: "as loathsome as Frankenstein's monster and even more unreal" (3). Moreover, the plot was "morbid" and "irredeemably dull": "everyone was heartily glad when it was over" (3). The writer counsels the company "never to attempt it again here or elsewhere" (3).

The final night in Perth was a success, despite a last-minute change of program. The much-anticipated *Adrienne Lecouvreur* was to be staged as a farewell benefit for Achurch. The audience, who had come to see a play for which some of their own local amateurs had practised, were informed shortly before curtain-rise that Flemming had contracted influenza, and *Forget-me-not* would be repeated instead of *Adrienne Lecouvreur* ("Achurch-Charrington: Farewell Perth" 5). None of the audience took advantage of the offer to return their ticket price, however, and at the close the applause was "loud and long" (5). The next day, the company caught the midday train to Fremantle.

Town Hall, Fremantle: 24/9/1891; Town Hall, York, 25/9/1891; and Town Hall, Albany: 28/9/1891 to 29/9/1891

The New Magdalen was performed for the final night in Fremantle, on Thursday, 24 September. Flemming had not yet recovered, reported the *West Australian* on the 25th, but the play went well ("News and Notes" 4). The company left Fremantle the next day, to perform in York that

evening. It is not recorded which play was staged, but it was most likely *The New Magdalen*, considering Flemming's continuing illness. There is no record of a performance on Saturday, 26 September. The next report is from Albany, where "large and enthusiastic houses" attended *The New Magdalen* and then *Forget-me-not*, on Monday 28 and Tuesday 29 September ("Albany News" 15).

On 24 September, the day following Achurch's departure from Perth, a summary of her visit was published in the *Daily News*. The season is noted as "completely successful," both financially and artistically, which proved that Perth citizens are "fully capable of appreciating finished acting" ("Achurch-Charrington: Final Performance" 3). Five plays had been staged over six nights and throughout them all, Achurch showed herself "an actress in the first ranks, and a worthy compeer of Sarah Bernhardt and Ellen Terry" (3). Charrington is considered to be clearly both "an actor of no little versatility, and a cultured gentleman" (3). While presenting *Doll's House* and *Hedda* may have been a "thankless task" for the company, it "convinced very many of Ibsen's power and originality, and of his claims to be considered a great thinker as well as playwright" (3). Overall, according to the *Daily News*, the "visit of the company will be an evergreen memory with Perth and Fremantle playgoers" (3).

The item also comments on the "social recognition" afforded Achurch and her husband ("Achurch-Charrington: Final Performance" 3). They certainly were extended the utmost hospitality during their short time in the colony. As well as the tour of Perth and dinner with the Premier on the day of their arrival, the *Inquirer and Commercial* of 16 September notes that on Sunday, 13 September, Achurch and Charrington were guests at a lunch hosted by the Premier and Lady Forrest ("General News" 5). That night they took supper with Mr Venn, the Commissioner for Railways, and Mrs Venn (5). They again dined with the Premier and his wife shortly before their departure from Perth, other guests including the Mayors of both Perth and Fremantle ("West Australia" 5).

While in Sydney *en route* from Launceston to Brisbane a few weeks later, the company were interviewed by the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The long article was published on 31 October, 1891.

The paper was told that the company had been feted in Western Australia, because it was the first time an actress of Achurch's calibre had visited the colony ("Musical and Dramatic" 7). The Charringtons spoke highly of their time there. Their financial success, they considered, was partly because the company was "small and compact" (7). They considered Western Australia to be a "land of the 'going-to-be'," the centres perhaps not yet large enough to sustain many visiting theatre troupes (7).

Despite demanding performances, continual travel, and aggravation from misdirected luggage, the Charringtons maintained a rapport with local dignitaries, the play-going public, and the press. West Australian theatregoers had been excited about the advent of a company of high reputation, and were delighted to discover that their hopes of finally being placed on the itinerary of a first-class acting troupe were realised. The colony's overwhelming response to the visit can be gauged by the number of items (excluding advertisements and letters to the editor) published about Achurch and her troupe in West Australian newspapers during that September: seventy-nine.

Hobart and Launceston: October 1891

Theatre Royal, Hobart: 10/10/1891 to 21/10/1891

Thirteen months later than originally planned, the Achurch-Charrington Company arrived in Tasmania. They departed Albany on Sunday, 4 October by the RSS *Oroya* for the voyage to Adelaide. Departing Adelaide by train on Wednesday, 7 October 1891, they arrived in Melbourne the next day, only an hour before the *Pateena* was due to leave for Launceston. No maritime strike intervened this time, and they arrived in Launceston on Friday, 9 October 1891. Upon arrival, they took the mail coach to Hobart, and the day after, opened at the Theatre Royal. The Governor and Lady Hamilton extended their patronage for the season, as did (Admiral) Lord Charles Scott and officers of the Auxiliary Squadron, and dress circle seats sold quickly ("Epitome of News" 2).

The company opened with *Forget-me-not* on Saturday the 10th, to good reviews. The *Mercury* of the 12th reports a house full in every section, which was a rare occurrence on a Saturday night ("Theatre Royal: Achurch" 2). The theatre was again crowded for *Camille* on Monday the 12th, and

the play "was voted a grand success" ("Theatre Royal: Achurch-Charrington" 3). The *Mercury* considered that Achurch's "world-wide reputation" was "well earned" (3).

The New Magdalen was staged the following night, Tuesday the 13th. In the audience, which again filled the theatre, were the Governor and Lady Hamilton, Admiral Lord Scott, and their parties. In this drama, according to the *Mercury*, Achurch proved herself "mistress of her art," Charrington and the supporting cast also receiving commendation ("Theatre Royal: Magdalen" 2). "Altogether it was one of the finest performances we have seen on the Hobart stage," considers the paper, "and Miss Achurch's name will long be remembered by it" (2). On 14 October it was advertised that due to the "extraordinary success" of the season, the original six nights were to be extended a further week until Wednesday, 21 October (Theatre Royal 3).

A Doll's House was staged on Wednesday, 14 October, to standing room only. The review in the *Mercury* on the 15th was distinctly sympathetic: to Achurch, the play, and the heroine. The article opens with: "To the average theatre-goer the English translation of Ibsen's now celebrated play, *A Doll's House*, will present certain disappointing features" ("Theatre Royal: Doll" 3). The ending, in particular, left the audience with "a sense of incompleteness" (3). "Nevertheless," the article continues, "it presents a powerful lesson and illustrates how the bow may be strained to breaking point" (3). According to the writer, a better example of Achurch's "histrionic powers" would be hard to find than in her portrayal of this "girl wife – . . . the woman driven to bay by her tormentor and trying all the wills [sic] of woman to secure safety" (3). With Achurch and Charrington the dialogue, which in other hands would have been "wearisome," "held the audience enchained" (3).

Still Waters Run Deep on Thursday the 15th also attracted a favourable review. It was followed on Friday with a repeat performance of *Forget-me-not*. Despite "unfavourable weather" the theatre was again full, notes the *Mercury* of the 17th, with members of the Auxiliary Squadron in the audience ("Theatre Royal" 3). The continuing bad weather did not dampen the enthusiasm of

playgoers on Saturday night, the 17th, when *Camille* was re-staged. *The New Magdalen* followed on Monday the 19th. Good houses are reported for each night.

On Tuesday, 20 October, *Hedda Gabler* was presented for the third time in Australia, to critical disapproval. The plot had been published in the *Mercury* some days previously. The review following the performance was not sympathetic. Despite Ibsen's claims to understand the "inner workings of . . . a woman's heart," the play merits adverse rather than favourable criticism, is the opinion expressed in the *Mercury* of the 21st ("Theatre Royal: Hedda" 2). As for Hedda: she is "a woman seemingly devoid of everything that is womanly, a frigid piece of humanity" (2). Although Achurch demonstrated her deep understanding of Ibsen's ideas and despite her "wide reaching" abilities in presenting them, the play, in the reviewer's opinion, was unlikely to become a favourite in Australia (2).

The season ended on the 21st with *Written in Sand* and *A Ladies' Battle* under the patronage of Lady Hamilton and a party from Government House. The packed theatre witnessed "comedy as far removed from anything of an Ibsen taint as the tragedies of Shakespeare are removed from the latest London burlesque," according to the *Mercury* the next day ("Theatre Royal" 2). Achurch and her company were farewelled at the end of the evening with "a perfect ovation" (2).

The ten-night, eight-play season was extremely successful. For the *Mercury*, Achurch's reputation was well-merited, and during her stay in Hobart she had "won golden opinions and proved herself an actress of the first water" ("Theatre Royal" 2). This was high praise: for many years Hobart was the first port of call in Australia for most travelling dramatic troupes, and its critics and general playgoing public would have experienced some of the best. Not all went smoothly, and Achurch was not always a paragon. On 16 November 1891, Perth's *Daily News* notes that during the Hobart performance of one of Ibsen's plays (it is not recorded which) one of the actors forgot his lines. Achurch was heard by many in the audience to hiss, "Oh, you brute of a man!" (qtd. by Le Flaneur 3).[58]

Academy of Music, Launceston: 22/10/1891 to 24/10/1891

The company returned to Launceston on Thursday, 22 October 1891. They opened that night at the Academy of Music with *Forget-me-not*; the *Launceston Examiner* declared the play to be "admirably staged," and a success ("Academy: Forget-me-not" 3). *Camille* was staged on the 23rd. According to the *Examiner* the next day, although the play was familiar to Launceston audiences the performance was such that it was received with "all the charm of novelty" ("Academy: Camille" 3). Charrington, in the opinion of the writer, "did not rise above mediocrity," but the other members performed well (3). The audience was "delighted" by Flemming, and "thrilled" by Achurch (3).

A Doll's House was selected for the closing performance on Saturday the 24th. The lukewarm review in the *Examiner* on the 26th is not sympathetic to the play or the protagonist, although this is more indicated by tone than terminology. The newspaper notes, however, that the large audience was "profuse in their applause" for the company's acting (2).

A more detailed review, again distinctly hostile, appeared in the *Examiner* on 31 October. It is given by "Touchstone," the correspondent who had questioned, in August 1890, whether the Maritime Strike was used as an excuse by the company for them to postpone their Tasmanian visit, enabling Achurch to perform with Rignold as Lady Macbeth. "As far as I was personally concerned," writes Touchstone, "Ibsen is by no means a genius" (2). "The production . . . is both commonplace in dialogue and silly in plot"; if the play has a moral, "it is decidedly a very bad one" (2). The wife, "the wrong-headed 'doll,'" has no reason to treat her "unfortunate spouse" as she does (2). The ending is not an ending: it leaves the audience to "ponder over the 'moral' at their own sweet wills" (2). The audience, in Touchstone's opinion, would not have tolerated the play at all if it had not been for Achurch's clever acting (2).

The company's time in Tasmania was not long, a bare two weeks. It left little time for socialising. It is likely that they were extended hospitality by members of the government party and the military, who so often extended their patronage to the Hobart season. The general impression one receives from newspaper articles is that the company's last few days in Tasmania were

somewhat flat, and the tight travel program and constant performance schedule allowed little time for relaxation before the long journey to Brisbane for their final season in Australia.

Brisbane: October-November 1891

Theatre Royal: 31/10/1891 to 13/11/1891

On Monday, 26 October, 1891, the company left Launceston on board the *Rotomahana* to Melbourne.[59] Leaving Melbourne the next day, they reached Sydney on Wednesday the 28th, embarking on the *Wodonga* for Brisbane the same day. The season opened in Brisbane on Saturday, 31 October 1891 with *Adrienne Lecouvreur*; the review in the *Brisbane Courier* on 2 November was not favourable. First-night "defects" were noticeable, and the cast considered to be not as strong or supportive as during the first visit, although Achurch retained her reputation for good acting ("Amusements: 'Adrienne'" 6). The first night problems may have been due to exhaustion: in the interview with the *Sydney Morning Herald* a few days earlier (published on the 31st) the Charringtons "confessed" that they were all tired with the continual travelling ("Musical and Dramatic" 7).

Forget-me-not on Monday, 2 November went much more smoothly. Brisbane playgoers, according to the *Courier* the next day, vividly recalled Achurch's performances of the play nine months earlier, and filled the theatre. The first act was interrupted by an "unseemly interjection" from a man in the pit; he was removed, and the play continued ("Theatre Royal: 'Forget-me-not'" 5). *The New Magdalen* was performed on Tuesday the 3rd, followed by the double comedy program of *Written in Sand* and *A Ladies' Battle* on the 4th, and *Camille* on the 5th. The Brisbane season was originally planned to be for six days, with the "laudable" intention of staging a different play each night, according to the *Courier* on 5 November ("Theatre Royal: 'Ladies' Battle'" 6). However, on 6 November an extension of a further six days was advertised (Theatre Royal 2).

On Friday, 6 November Achurch appeared in *Hedda Gabler* for the first time in Brisbane, and the fourth and final time in Australia. The *Courier* review was cold and brief. The writer notes, "of the play, the less said the better" ("To-day Nov. 7: 'Hedda'" 5). The single paragraph informs that

"the piece is absolutely devoid of interest, the characters are cold and unnatural, and the innuendoes are offensive to a degree" (5). Every production of the play, considers the writer, lowers the tone of the stage (5). Achurch is not mentioned.

Camille was performed the next night, Saturday the 7th, with *Forget-me-not* the following Monday, and *The New Magdalen* on Tuesday. On Wednesday, 11 November, *Still Waters Run Deep* was staged, and on Thursday, 12 November *Written in Sand* and *A Ladies' Battle* were repeated. The final performance—which was to be the company's last in Brisbane and in Australia—was a benefit for Achurch, on Friday, 13 November, 1891.

Achurch's Australian tour ended as it began: with *A Doll's House*. The review in the *Courier* the following day was not a good one. No mention is made of the plot or the dramaturgy, possibly because these matters were by now reasonably well known. It was reported that neither Achurch nor Charrington were at their best in the early scenes, the main target of criticism being their elocution ("Theatre Royal: 'Doll'" 5). However, Charrington improved as the play progressed, to the point where he "carried the audience with him unmistakably" during the scene where he (as Torvald Helmer) reads Krogstad's letter demanding full repayment of the loan he had made to Nora (5). Achurch's "stagey" diction also gradually improved until she was again at her best (5).

This season in Brisbane was a combination of highs and lows. Eight different plays were staged over twelve nights, to mixed reviews, both of plays and players. There was also a court appearance over an unpaid debt. No details are provided, and it is not recorded whether the debt was incurred during this visit, or the previous one. On 6 November the Brisbane Petty Debts Court reports verdicts for the plaintiffs in several matters, including "H.B. Lilley v. C. Charrington and Janet Charrington (his wife), money due £8 3s., and one witness 5s., and costs 6s." ("Petty Debts" 3).

Despite challenges on and off stage, the visit was successful. In a review of 1891 published on 31 December, the *Courier* nominates the two Achurch-Charrington seasons in Brisbane as being "the most noteworthy event" of an otherwise ordinary dramatic year ("Drama and Music" 5). This

sentiment is echoed in Hobart. On 1 January 1892 the *Mercury* notes the company's visit as one of the "more important events" of the year ("1891: Looking Backward" 3).

While in Western Australia, Achurch was interviewed by Mr W. Siebenhaar; the interview was published in the English *Life* magazine, and précised in the *West Australian* on 3 February, 1892. During the quite long interview, Achurch's travel plans were discussed. "And when will your itinerary cease?" asks Siebenhaar; "Not until I have 'done' the whole of the civilised world," responds Achurch, "and perhaps you will see me here again when I start afresh" (2). Despite her intentions, apart from a short and unsuccessful visit to the United States, on her return home from Australia her overseas touring days were over.

Leaving Australia

The Achurch-Charrington Company left Brisbane on the *Tara* on or about Saturday, 14 November 1891 *en route* to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India, Egypt, and England. It had, as recently as August, been the company's intention (according to Perth's *West Australian*) to visit Newcastle on the way to Brisbane, then continue northwards from Brisbane to Rockhampton, Townsville, and Charters Towers, before leaving the country ("Miss Achurch's Visit" 5). It is reported in the *Queenslander* of 12 September 1891 that Townsville was looking forward to Achurch's visit ("Townsville Aug. 31" 458). The *Sydney Morning Herald* reports on 31 October that after leaving Brisbane, the company intended to travel along the coast to Darwin before leaving for Calcutta (now Kolkata) ("Musical and Dramatic" 7). It does not appear that any of these stopovers were made. By early December, the company had arrived in Ceylon, travelling from there to Calcutta, where they opened at the Corinthian Theatre on 26 December, 1891.

There are several possible reasons for the change in plans. These include the extended seasons in Hobart and again in Brisbane, which added at least two weeks to the final part of the tour. The changing financial situation in Australia, where labour troubles, over-borrowing, and depressed prices for exports had led to disastrous bank collapses, would no doubt have been a factor in the decision to return to England as soon as possible. Another reason could be Achurch's pregnancy.

Newspaper reports of her tiredness and of increasing challenges in performing at her best indicate that the pregnancy was not going well. While in Cairo, she gave birth to a still-born child, and again required "increasingly large doses" of morphine (Salmon n.pag.). Achurch returned to England, opening at the Avenue Theatre in *A Doll's House* on 19 April, 1892.

The chronicle of Achurch's movements and appearances in Australia illustrates the sheer physical effort made by stage performers in the late nineteenth century. Her travel took in all six colonies, by boat, train, and coach. In just over two years, she appeared in twenty-three theatres or halls, performed in at least twenty-four plays or recitals, and gave more than 360 performances. Of these, fifty-three were *A Doll's House*, and four *Hedda Gabler*. She also made a three-month tour of New Zealand. While pursuing her career in one of the few professions then open to women, Achurch also was still subject to the additional biological imperative with which her sex contended: maternity.

Throughout the tour, and as her reputation grew and preceded her, Achurch was welcomed in each centre that she visited, and greeted with acclaim by dignitaries, critics, and the public. Despite changes to her itinerary and repertoire, often due to challenges beyond her control such as weather, industrial action, and illness, Achurch was increasingly hailed as a luminary of the theatre, and, in the case of one critic in Brisbane, the saviour of that city's dramatic future. The material she presented was not always so welcome, but helped create a curiosity that drew to her performances people who may not otherwise have attended. The plays which attracted the most controversy were Dumas the younger's *Camille*, and Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler*.

This chapter tells a story which has never before been told: the Australian tour of one of the late nineteenth century's most talented actresses, who combined a career on stage with marriage and motherhood. Moreover, she was a person who recognised a new way of presenting women's issues in dramatic form, studied the dramas, and brought them not only to London, at that time considered the centre of the theatrical world, but also to the emergent nation of Australia. The next chapter discusses the controversies generated in Australia, for the most part around Ibsen's plays and Nora, the character who presented and represented the New Woman.

Chapter 5: Controversy

Controversy followed Janet Achurch in Australia, but the evidence suggests that this was to her benefit rather than detriment. Very little related to her personally; the opposite, in fact. Her reputation as an actress of star quality increased over the duration of the tour, as did her personal popularity. Several of the plays she staged and roles she undertook, however, evoked sometimes polemic responses. People of influence created their own minor controversies. The three plays which occasioned the most indignation and defence were *Camille*, *A Doll's House*, and *Hedda Gabler*. *Hedda* stirred up conflict following each of its four performances, for the most part relating to the plot and the protagonist. With *Camille* (and with *Doll's House* on one occasion) the focus was vice-regal displeasure.

The *Doll's House* controversy began with its premiere in London on 7 June 1889, continued with its debut in Melbourne on 14 September 1889, and persisted after its final performance in Brisbane on 13 November 1891. Press reports, however, show that it began to gain at least critical acceptance early in the tour. One thing is patent: *Doll's House* and its many parts had a different message depending on the position of the auditor, with the issue of women's identity and freedom of choice being a major theme. It occasioned a multitude of interpretations and personal meanings, publicly contended through the contemporary media.[60]

This section is in three parts. The first examines the public discussion relating to Sir Arthur Palmer and *Camille*. The second explores that surrounding Lady Margaret Jersey and *A Doll's House*. The third and major section considers the performances of *A Doll's House* and, in a small way, *Hedda Gabler*.

"What has shocked the Acting-Governor"? – Sir Arthur Palmer, and *Camille*

Vice-regal disapproval of *Camille* brought censure upon the head of the Acting-Governor of Queensland, Sir Arthur Palmer,[61] who withdrew his intended patronage of a performance of *Camille* in Brisbane. Achurch had presented Acts 3 and 4 of the play at a concert at the Criterion in Sydney on 4 October 1890, prior to her departure for New Zealand. It was presented in its entirety in Dunedin in November 1890, and was advertised for a vice-regal command performance at the Royal

Theatre in Brisbane on Friday, 20 February 1891. Shortly before curtain on the 20th a letter was received advising of Sir Arthur's withdrawal of patronage. The resulting furore in the press had two foci: the contents of the letter, and the manner of its delivery to the audience.

Charrington addressed the audience at the end of the first act (reports the *Brisbane Courier* the following day), expressing regret that they were neither to hear the national anthem, nor have the honour of the Queen's representative in their midst ("'Camille'" 5). A governor's role, said Charrington, was less to govern, and more to "show an example of exquisite tact and cultivated intelligence in dealing with any social question that may arise, and he must be a gentleman of large and cultivated mind" (5). But, he continues, Sir Arthur is "not satisfied with these qualifications [and] also takes it upon himself the high duty of guarding the morals of the feminine portion" of the population (5).

Charrington then read out the brief letter, written by Sir Arthur's aide-de-camp. In part it reads, "His Excellency having read the book on which the play 'Camille' is written from, objects to be present with ladies at a play of its character" (qtd. in "'Camille'" 5). After a reference to the aide-de-camp's "lofty disregard of grammatical rules," Charrington tells the audience that the Acting-Governor is obviously ignoring the fact that the play is a "classic of European literature," with a moral that is "grimly pointed and not tittered over" (5). In a voice the reporter describes as "peculiarly sarcastic," Charrington expresses his sorrow to the ladies for the shame they must bear at being present at such a play (5). He wonders how the ladies of Sir Arthur's household would react to *A Doll's House*, if *Camille* is so outside their sensibilities (5). *A Doll's House*, said Charrington, is a play "in which it is something more than insinuated that the women of the household may possibly have a right to judge for themselves on such subjects, and that a gentleman may possibly make himself exquisitely ridiculous without knowing it" (qtd. in 5).

An article in the same newspaper the following Monday, the 23rd, takes Charrington to task for his opinion of the role of a governor. The article has four themes: that Sir Arthur as a gentleman has a right to an opinion; that high morals should apply to both sexes; that governors are

unnecessary; and that the arts ought not to seek gubernatorial patronage. The latter two themes are not relevant to this discussion, but the former two are.

According to the writer, all men, not only royalty and its representatives, ought to be gentlemen, and every gentleman is entitled to an opinion ("Mon. Feb. 23 1891" 4). It may or may not be right, but if he is in a position where he is a shaper of social standards, then he must act as he deems appropriate (4). His patronage would be of no value if he were not permitted to form a judgment and act upon it (4). The matter of whether or not *Camille* (or any other such play) is fit for ladies is secondary to the question of whether it is fit for anyone, male or female, continues the writer (4). "Feminine morals," they suggest, "form one of our biggest social questions" – yet all adults are committed to gubernatorial care (4). Charrington is right, acknowledges the writer, in suggesting that if *Camille* is fit for men it is also fit for women – but the converse is also true (4).

Nothing more appears in the papers until June, when it becomes apparent that news of Sir Arthur's refusal to attend the play had reached London, and was a matter of discussion there also. It is noted by the *Brisbane Courier* on 24 June that the London *Daily Telegraph* had indulged in a little "good-natured chaffing" at the expense of Sir Arthur ("Old Country" 7). The *Telegraph* had "slyly" insinuated that while Sir Arthur would not take the ladies to see *Camille*, he had not said he would not go himself (7).

At least one other article had appeared in the *Telegraph* prior to that, however, in a much more serious vein. An item from that newspaper was reproduced in part in the *Clarence and Richmond Examiner* on 2 June 1891 under the title "The Brisbane Censorship." It also appeared in longer form in the *Queenscliff Sentinel, Drysdale, Portarlington and Sorrento Advertiser* on 4 July 1891. The *Sentinel* mentions that Sir Arthur's refusal to attend at *Camille* had been "variously commented upon by the London papers" ("Timorous Propriety" 3). The *Telegraph* article reviews the play's history, and its controversial nature in making the heroine a "woman of loose life," however reformed (qtd. in 3). To appease "Mrs. Grundy,"[62] the heroine had to die young and tragically (3).

Sir Arthur's decision worked for Achurch, rather than against her, the *Daily Telegraph* suggests. It was "a splendid advertisement" (qtd. in "Timorous Propriety" 3). The camellia had become the city's "favourite flower" (qtd. in 3). The theatre was crowded every night by those anxious to discover "what has shocked the Acting-Governor" (qtd. in 3).[63] The lesson of the matter, considers the *Daily Telegraph*, is not to allow "officials" to use their power to dictate public morals (qtd. in 3). It was not up to such as Sir Arthur to "teach the ladies of Brisbane what they were to admire and where their blushes properly came in" (qtd. in 3).[64]

Although not specifically a New Woman play, *Camille* could fit the genre. The heroine Marguerite, like the New Woman, sought the right to find employment outside the traditional sphere of home and family. Marguerite, however, chose her employment in a profession known (rightly or wrongly) as the oldest one. Sex for remuneration was publicly condemned yet privately tolerated. This double standard is alluded to by Shaw in his sequel, *Still after the Doll's House* (1890), in which Krogstad is exposed as a hypocrite for enjoying Nora's company in private while denouncing her in public. By this time, the plot of *Doll's House* was well known. Nora's actions in breaking a taboo by casting off the "Angel in the House" image and leaving marriage and motherhood were accepted even if not condoned. Marguerite, by contrast to Nora's audacity in undermining a social institution, was plying her trade in a profession traditionally a woman's.

Sir Arthur's announcement must have seemed old-fashioned and hypocritical to the more forward-thinking of Brisbane society. For some, it must have appeared to be a step backwards in the progress of women's rights. That there was so much open condemnation of Sir Arthur's stance demonstrates growing awareness of women's rights, not only to control their own body and sexuality, but to enter public discourse about those rights. Sir Arthur did not defend himself in the press. When a similar situation arose with Lady Jersey, wife of the then New South Wales Governor, she was forced to do so.

Lady Jersey, and *A Doll's House*

Lady Jersey's decision not to attend a charity performance of *A Doll's House,* although not taken lightly, was misrepresented in the press. On Saturday, 6 June 1891, the Achurch-Charrington Company staged a special performance of *Doll's House* in Sydney in aid of the Women's College Fund. The list of patrons was long and illustrious, from the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alfred Steven, to the Chancellor of the University, Sir William Manning; Justices; the Mayor; the Minister for Education; and officers of the New South Wales Artillery unit (Garrick Theatre 2). Twenty-one ladies and gentlemen formed a working committee (2). The use of the theatre had been granted free of charge by its managers, F.E. Hiscocks and W.J. Wilson (2). The services of the cast had also been donated (Women's College Matinee Benefit 2). British actor Eille Norwood assisted, with the permission of his managers, Brough and Boucicault (Garrick Theatre 2).[65]

The performance attracted a full house. Lady Jersey, the wife of the New South Wales Governor, was not present, despite an earlier intimation of support.[66] The *Sydney Morning Herald* review makes no mention of her absence, but it arises in the *Illustrated Sydney News* two weeks later and continues in English and Australian periodicals for some months afterwards. It began as a report on Lady Jersey's reluctance to appear to support Ibsen's ideas, but over the months it changed, somewhat unpleasantly, to a supposed personal attack on Achurch.

Lady Jersey was in favour of supporting the Women's College. She is reported in the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 20 June to be "very unwilling to refuse her patronage" as she was most interested in the College ("Sydney Social and Gossip" 4). She had come to realise, however, that Ibsen's works had received more serious attention than she had thought likely (4). She therefore had to give serious attention to his plays, and make a decision as to patronage based upon her deliberations (4). She decided against sponsorship of the performance, as she did not wish it to be thought that she supported a play which was an exposition of what she considered to be a "new and . . . detrimental philosophy of life" (4). Lady Jersey did not, "and nor do a great number of people,

approve of the peculiar views of married life therein enunciated" – or "so the papers say," noted the *Bathurst Free Press* of 24 June ("Vice-Regal Patronage" 2).

The *Bathurst Free Press* writer had been present at the performance, and is puzzled at Lady Jersey's decision. The writer considers that while the play's treatment of the subject of married life is "altogether opposed to the ordinarily accepted notions respecting matrimony," it is also such as to stimulate thought ("Vice-Regal Patronage" 2). "I have attended but few plays which have sent me home more perplexed or more thoughtful," the writer continues, "and this, I believe, will be the experience of every one witnessing the play who attends the theatre for a higher purpose than simply to be amused" (2). The article takes a parting shot at a vice-regal policy which extends patronage to Sunday night concerts yet is prejudiced against such a play as *Doll's House* (2).

While Lady Jersey was not held up to ridicule as was Sir Arthur, there were those who considered that she damaged her own personal image. The *South Australian Register* reports on 26 August that "Mr. Robert Fowler of Sydney"[67] wrote to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in London expressing his view that Lady Jersey had offered Achurch a "gratuitous insult" ("Anglo-Colonial Gossip" 6). "The Governor's wife . . . came to us with the reputation of being an intellectual and broadminded woman," writes Fowler, but "acts such as the one I have mentioned go far to shake that reputation" (qtd. in 6). The same item appeared in the Broken Hill *Barrier Miner* on 27 August (shortly after Achurch's season there) and in the *West Australian* on 1 September.

The issue appeared to quieten. Two months later it re-emerged in slightly more virulent form. The *Daily News* of 26 October reprinted an article from the London *Era* magazine repeating the story of the refusal of patronage. It had, unfortunately, been embroidered. The *Era* article reports that "Miss Janet Achurch has had a severe shock," but "was bearing up wonderfully" ("General News" 2). According to the *Era*, the shock was because the Governor of New South Wales and his wife had "sternly refused to support the play" because it had been written by Ibsen (qtd. in 2). Further, Lady Jersey had told Achurch that "any actress who would appear in them could scarcely be considered a lady" (qtd. in 2). The item was repeated in Perth's *Inquirer and Commercial* on 28

October. It was also repeated in the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 21 November, but on this occasion the *Era* was taken to task. The Sydney correspondent had seen Lady Jersey's letter, and could state that in no way could it have been interpreted as suggested by the *Era*. To say otherwise was "obviously as untrue as it is malicious," the correspondent asserts ("Sydney Social" 5).

The matter disappeared from the press for some time, but clearly not from discussion, because several months later, the countess issued a defence. By early 1892 the story had again changed, and the play for which Lady Jersey had withheld patronage was not *A Doll's House*, but *Ghosts*. Lady Jersey wrote to *Woman* magazine, and the resulting article was reproduced in the *South Australian Register* on 28 March 1892. It was not *Ghosts*, corrected the countess, but *Doll's House*; nor did she ever intimate that her reason for abstaining from attending the play was because no lady would take on such a role ("Issues of the Day" 3). The "lady who first appealed" to the countess to be a patron for *Doll's House* (it is not stated whether or not this was Achurch) assured her that her presence would "manifest [Lady Jersey's] adherence to the views put forth" in the play, thus "dispelling the objections raised to them in many quarters" (3). This Lady Jersey considered herself unable to do.

She went on to explain that a "considerable" part of the community had exalted Ibsen's "fancies" until they were "a kind of religion" ("Issues of the Day" 3). She previously had thought Ibsen "too dull to affect anybody" but now realised that in fact his works were influential (3). She personally considered that *Doll's House* was a drama presenting "repulsive characters and pernicious theories" and could thus not be seen to give her endorsement (3).

As to her supposed antipathy towards Achurch, that was far from the truth. Upon learning of the countess's feelings, Achurch had attempted to change the bill to permit Lady Jersey to attend, but had found it impossible to do so ("Issues of the Day" 3). Furthermore, rather than intimating that Achurch was not respectable, Lady Jersey in fact considered her behaviour throughout to be "generous and considerate" (3).

There, the matter appeared to be at an end. For Lady Jersey to be forced to write to a woman's magazine (and perhaps other periodicals) because of irregular treatment of the matter indicates that

her decision may not have been quite as controversial, or continue for as long as it did (more than a year), if it had not been misrepresented. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the situation (or that involving Sir Arthur) was truly a controversy or rather what would today be termed a "beat up." It does, however, demonstrate the power of the contemporary periodical press, especially in the absence of any other immediate form of news dissemination. It shows, too, the democratic principles of the young almost-nation that it permitted criticism of government representatives. Importantly, it demonstrates that women, whether actresses or governor's wives, had, and were capable of using, influence, however constrained by societal expectations and legal restrictions.

Perhaps being controversial—intentionally, or not—was a way for women to be heard. Achurch had early learnt that controversy attracts attention, which is why she originally chose *Ghosts* to open her and Charrington's season at the Novelty Theatre. She was persuaded by William Archer to produce *A Doll's House* instead, which had the desired effect of bringing the curious – in England, and in Australia.

A Doll's House

Early in 1889, when they were seeking a drama that would set London on its ears, Achurch and her husband found it in *A Doll's House*. It brought playgoers to their small theatre for three weeks prior to their departure for the Antipodes. The play also set Melbourne talking – and Adelaide, Sydney, Brisbane, and everywhere else, centres major and minor. Its detractors and champions were often extremely vehement. Although it created ripples that would continue to the present day, in both public discourse and in the literary world, it was not as consistently and continuously controversial, even in its early days in the colonies, as it may have been represented over the ensuing century and more.

A Doll's House—particularly Nora—certainly created strong feelings, both antagonistic and sympathetic. A close examination of the peaks and troughs of public opinion indicates that by the time Achurch and her troupe arrived in Sydney for their third season of *Doll's House,* only ten months after its debut in Melbourne, support was outweighing condemnation, at least in the public

arena of the periodical press. This is clearly demonstrated when the two polemics are presented in graphic form.

A chronological description of responses would simply provide a "this happened then this happened" narrative, which while informative from an historical perspective is also only a two-dimensional picture of a multi-dimensional issue. Appendix 1 is such a narrative, being a précis of the reviews, opinions, and letters to the editor originating in Australia and published in the Australian press in response to *A Doll's House* over the duration of the tour. The sixty-one items in the appendix are extracted from a master list of over fourteen hundred. The master list includes all items located in newspapers and periodicals examined containing references to Achurch, Charrington, Ibsen, *Doll's House*, or Nora from mid September 1889 to mid November 1891. The master list includes reviews of other plays, poetry, advertisements, obituaries, and general articles.

References to Achurch, Ibsen, *Doll's House*, and Nora in those items in the master list which were published in relation to *Doll's House* and its performances, with the exception of advertisements, have been coded. Coding was applied from subjective analysis of the attitude to the four search terms found within each item, as sympathetic or supportive (S), antipathetic or antagonistic (A), or neutral or objective (N). Although "S" and "A" responses can be placed on continuums from very strong to very mild, time restrictions and facility of synthesis dictate the necessity of coding simplicity.

All coded references have been counted and a month-by-month table created. That table, totalling 757 entries, is included at the end of Appendix 1. The table shows that there were no negative responses to Achurch in relation to *Doll's House* over the course of the tour. Ibsen attracted thirty-seven negative responses compared to fifty-seven positive. *A Doll's House* attracted fifty-six positive to thirty-seven negative, and Nora thirty-six positive to twenty-nine negative.

Figures relating only to *Doll's House* and Nora have been extracted from the table in Appendix 1, combined (a total of 352), and reproduced here (Table 1). The significance of these

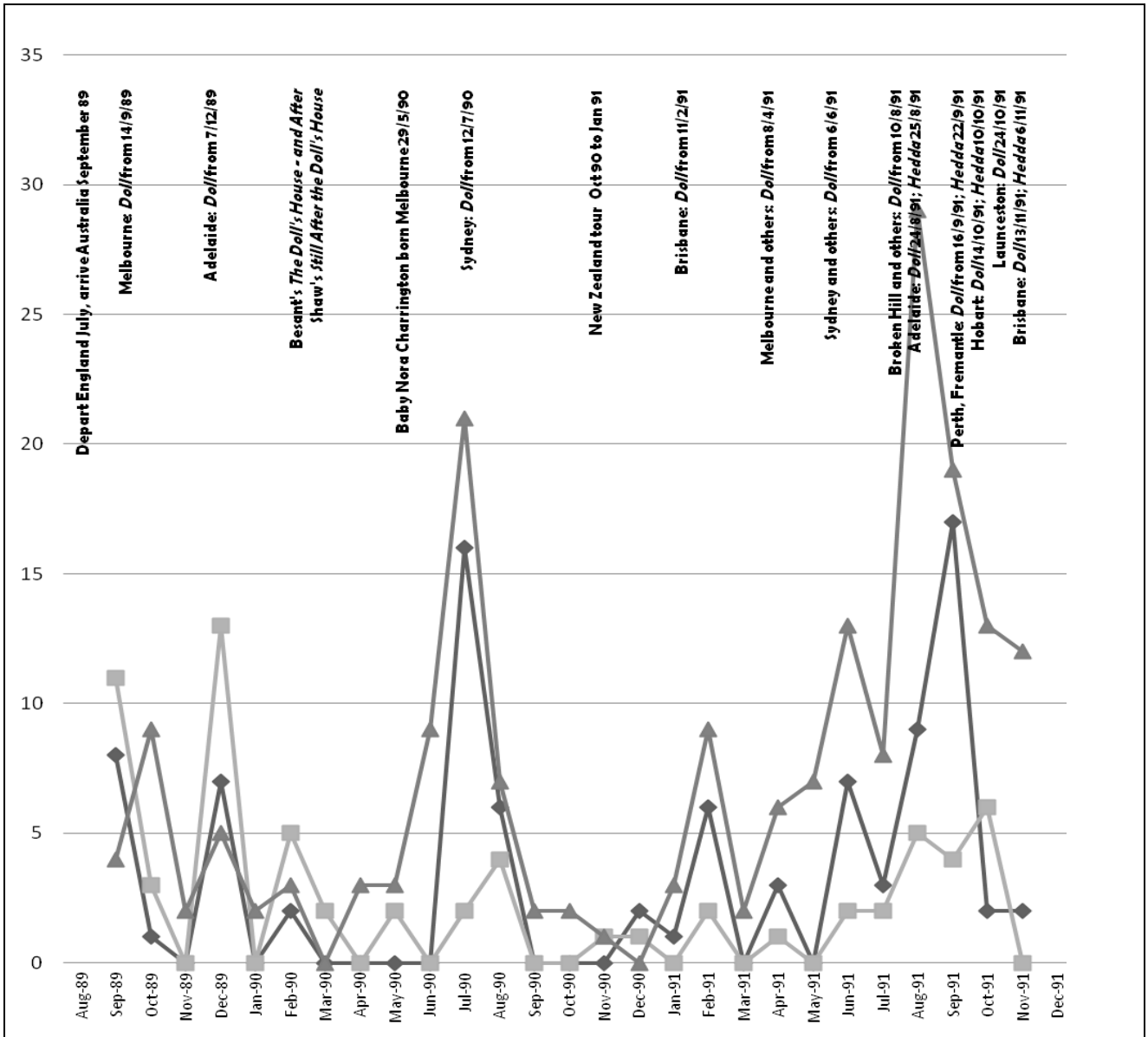
Table 1

Number of references (excluding advertisements) in Australian newspapers to *A Doll's House* and Nora during the period mid September 1889 to mid November 1891 relating to productions of *A Doll's House* in Australia

Year	Sympathetic	Antipathetic	Subtotal	Neutral	Total
1889					
September	8	11	**19**	4	**23**
October	1	3	**4**	9	**13**
November	0	0	**0**	2	**2**
December	7	13	**20**	5	**25**
Subtotal	16	27	**43**	20	**63**
1890					
January	0	0	**0**	2	**2**
February	2	5	**7**	3	**10**
March	0	2	**2**	0	**2**
April	0	0	**0**	3	**3**
May	0	2	**2**	3	**5**
June	0	0	**0**	9	**9**
July	16	2	**18**	21	**39**
August	6	4	**10**	7	**17**
September	0	0	**0**	2	**2**
October	0	0	**0**	2	**2**
November	0	1	**1**	1	**2**
December	2	1	**3**	0	**3**
Subtotal	26	17	**43**	53	**96**
1891					
January	1	0	**1**	3	**4**
February	6	2	**8**	9	**17**
March	0	0	**0**	2	**2**
April	3	1	**4**	6	**10**
May	0	0	**0**	7	**7**
June	7	2	**9**	13	**22**
July	3	2	**5**	8	**13**
August	9	5	**14**	29	**43**
September	17	4	**21**	19	**40**
October	2	6	**8**	13	**21**
November	2	0	**2**	12	**14**
Subtotal	50	22	**72**	121	**193**
Total	92	66	**158**	194	**352**

Table 2: Graph

Comparison of sympathetic, antipathetic, and neutral items (excluding advertisements) appearing in Australian newspapers and periodicals for *A Doll's House* and Nora during the period mid September 1889 to mid November 1891



	1889	1890	1891	Total
		TOTAL NUMBERS		
Sympathetic	16	26	50	92
Antipathetic	27	17	22	66
	43	43	72	158
Neutral	20	53	121	194
	63	96	193=	352
		PERCENTAGES		
Sympathetic	37%	60%	69%	
Antipathetic	63%	40%	31%	

figures becomes particularly clear when graphed (Table 2). It can be seen that the trend towards a sympathetic reception not only changed from place to place and over time, but also in response to stimuli other than performances.

The first hints about the character of *A Doll's House* in most major centres in Australia, mostly originating in London, were not complimentary. They perhaps established a negative environment, which may not only have predisposed many to condemn *Doll's House*, but may also have piqued interest. Two such appear in the 27 July 1889 issue of Melbourne's *Argus*. The first is a tongue-in-cheek disquisition on the public's search for novelty (with punning reference to the Charringtons' theatre), seeking burlesque and melodrama, or "wrestling . . . with grave social and moral problems" ("Sat. July 27 1889" 8). The article notes that Londoners, unlike their counterparts in Scandinavia where the topic is purportedly taboo, are talking about Ibsen, *Doll's House* in particular (8). The suggestion is that while such discussion might indicate that society was becoming more interested in serious topics, it was more likely that the interest in Ibsen would prove a fad and soon be forgotten (8).

The second article, dated in London on 14 June, refers to the public arguments occasioned by the premiere of *A Doll's House*. "A London Correspondent," upon first hearing the play in Dutch, had formed "an unduly favourable notion of [its] importance and philosophy" ("Social Gossip" 4). However, after watching it in English at the Novelty their opinion had changed: "all that is right in thinking and sane in criticism pronounces it absurd, tedious, morbid, mischievous" (4). Its "chief good fortune" is that the English version had been "polished and god-fathered by William Archer, one of the most brilliant critics of the day" (4). The correspondent then points to the hostilities between Ibsen ally Shaw and Ibsen foe Robert Buchanan.[68] Shaw and Buchanan are, it is suggested, "hammering into one another on it in amusing style" (4). Such controversy had the play engendered that it had become "the thing to be seen" (4). In fact, the writer continues, Achurch and Charrington have struck a "little lode of ore" (4). It would only be a few more weeks before Melbourne could pass judgement for itself.

Early in August, Brisbane readers learned Buchanan's opinion of Ibsen. Buchanan's article in the *Pall Mall* of 13 June was reproduced in part in the *Brisbane Courier* on 9 August. He notes his satisfaction upon witnessing *Doll's House*: it confirmed his previous judgment of the "crude unintelligence of Ibsen's 'dramatic method'" (qtd. in "Dramatic Gossip" 7). Ibsen is, according to Buchanan, "'a very small writer with very large pretensions'" (qtd. in 7). As for *Doll's House*: "'we are presented to half a dozen equally disagreeable characters'" (qtd. in 7). The article concludes with a suggestion (most likely from the *Pall Mall*) that it may be a case of the Greek proverb, "Tiler hits tiler" (7).[69] By the time Achurch's travels brought her to Brisbane, the city had had time to ponder that article, and all the debate in colonial newspapers over the intervening year and a half.

Adelaide also had prior, if slightly more sympathetic, notice. A "Special Correspondent" to the Adelaide *Advertiser* of 30 July 1889 had, like Buchanan, attended *A Doll's House* at the Novelty. Although more sympathetically disposed, the writer positions themselves as not one of the "literary faddists" smitten with "Ibsenolatry" ("English Social" 5).[70] Ibsen's plays in written form are "distinctly stiff reading" – but Ibsen, admits the writer, "has ideas" (5). *Doll's House*, as translated by Archer, was "impossible from an acting point of view [but] it's very powerful in places" (5).

By the time *Doll's House* reached Sydney some months later the initial shock had dissipated, and reception was mostly positive. A preview on 10 August 1889 was, however, distinctly hostile. "A.B.," in an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, attacks not only Ibsen, but Archer and his apparent idolatry of the playwright. Archer's latest worship is the translation of a "piece in three acts, purporting to be a play" (A.B. 9). Buchanan has taken up "the cudgels on behalf of humanity as opposed to artificiality and false, perverted taste," in a "battle royal" with Archer and Shaw (9). Too much ink has been wasted on such, suggests A.B., but "every class of periodical" openly condemns the play for its contents and its dramatic construction (9). "Ibsenites" had lulled themselves into the belief that Ibsen's methods would change the future of dramaturgy but this is not so (9). Achurch is the "young actress [who] achieves . . . a remarkable success" as Nora, but Nora is a "demented or

depraved" "child-wife" who has "no love for her husband . . . [nor] the affection of an animal for her children" (9).

Pistachio's article in the *Illustrated Sydney News* two weeks later notes that the "sharp literary controversy" excited by *Doll's House* in London was becoming "contagious" (31). Pistachio queries whether those fighting over the play really know what they are talking about, or whether they are, themselves, marionettes (31). The "doll" in question is

> but an ordinary puppet after all—a poor little harmless, brainless, frivolous woman who suddenly arouses to the fact that society, not nature, turned her out a puppet, and that she has potentialities which claim their right to be developed. (31)

"In depicting this awakening," continues Pistachio, "Ibsen walks off at a right angle from beaten grooves . . . and flourishes the flag of mental and social independence" (31). This "sorely disquiets" many people, especially women: but it is for them that Ibsen "strives to snap the fetters which trammel their individuality and self-respect" (31).

Differences of opinion over *A Doll's House* during the following two years covered many issues, from the incidence of dramatic highlights and use of dialogue, to the naturalness or otherwise of the heroine's change of heart, and by the time the play reached Broken Hill, much of the discourse centred around women's issues. There was no opposition to the claims of Achurch as an actress of high ability, and little to the claim that the success of the play was for the most part due to her acting abilities and sympathy with the role. It was generally agreed that the play, although not popular with the general populace, had hit a chord with the more intellectually-inclined. Despite some audience unrest the play was watched by most with rapt attention.

Terms such as "puzzling," "eccentric," and "psychological puzzle" occur frequently within newspaper items. By far one of the most contentious issues was the play's ending. Nora's final exit attracted polarised discussion, with two principal points of focus: the dramaturgical oddity of loose ends not being tied up into a "happy" ending, and the societal oddity of a woman leaving her husband and children. A recurring motif is "pity the children." While much discussion is on the

adequacy or otherwise of women's education, some objections raised are merely on moral grounds, with no specific reasons given.

A large proportion of material published in the Australian press during and shortly after the tour bears examination for its illumination of contemporary discourse around performers, dramatists, and drama in general, and Achurch, Ibsen, and *Doll's House* in particular. The extracts from letters to the editor, reviews, and opinions which follow are only a small part of that material. While each warrants in-depth analysis, discussion here focuses on the reasons for the spikes and troughs shown in Table 2.

Melbourne: September-October 1889

In the first few months *A Doll's House* attracted responses from fewer sympathisers than antagonists. It did, however, bring people to the theatre. It is not possible to know whether the scenes of chaos in the ticket office were engendered more by Achurch's arrival or by *Doll's House*. It is more likely the latter. Achurch Melbourne had heard of, but she was only one of many actresses visiting the city. *Doll's House*, however, was a type of drama never before seen, and the turmoil it created in London was well known in Australia.

The performance on Saturday, 14 September 1889 was well-advertised in the *Argus*. The same issue also published a detailed and sympathetic Ibsen biography. Ibsen was, according to the article, a "moral and social reformer," who believed in the nobility of intellect rather than "of birth or of the purse" ("Henrik Ibsen" 4). For Ibsen, the leaders of this new aristocracy would be "the workers and the women" (qtd. in 4). *Doll's House* was "considered by many competent critics to be the most perfect of this series [of social dramas] as a work of art" (4).

The review in the *Argus* the Monday following the premiere did not augur well. Achurch and Charrington received an "enthusiastic welcome" by the large opening night crowd, but the play was less welcome ("Princess's: 'Doll'" 6). The gallery audience were restless and impatient, at times interrupting the performance (6). The critic suggests that "English" playgoers "demand continuous action," which *Doll's House*, being "excessively didactic and inefficiently dramatic," does not

provide (6). Nora in the third act is "unnatural, and repels rather than invites sympathy," while "the lesson . . . is neither wholesome, nor an elevated or elevating one" (6). "Ibsen's ideal woman in this play," considers the critic, "deserts her home . . .; forsakes her husband . . .; and abandons her children" (6). Her desertion, "abruptly severing the closest and holiest ties which can bind one human being to another," is prompted solely for a "despicably selfish reason": revenge for her wounded "self-love" (6).

This interpretation elicited a wave of letters to the *Argus*, all in defence of Nora. The first, dated the day after the review and published on the 18th, is from a correspondent signing as "Norwegian": a "Scandinavian, and an ardent admirer of . . . Ibsen" (9). The correspondent takes the *Argus* critic to task on two issues. First is the critic's suggestion that Nora was one of Ibsen's "ideal" women: "a statement that no student of the dramatist would like to pass unchallenged" (9). Nora is "perhaps the most elaborate woman" in Ibsen's works, but "she is certainly not his ideal" (9). Norwegian also contradicts the critic's statement that Nora "'abandons her children, to whom she professes to be tenderly attached, for the despicably selfish reason that she has been treated as a doll, and not as a colleague and companion, the discovery of the fact being a curiously sudden one'" (qtd. in 9). Nora herself tells why she leaves: "the discovery of her own utter unworthiness and lack of qualifications to fulfil the duties of wife and mother" prompts her to go out into the world to educate herself to the proper performance of her duties (9). Ibsen himself, says the correspondent, does not know if she will ever return but "the intent nobleness of her mind makes it extremely probable that she finds strength of character in her lonely struggle," and "does return qualified to train her children" (9).

The second letter, on the 20th, is subscribed "Also a Norwegian." This correspondent had seen *A Doll's House* "frequently at home" (in Norway) and had "spent much time in studying the play" (Also a Norwegian 7). They agree with Norwegian on most points, and consider that Nora, although not perfect, "is more sinned against than sinning" (7). The real cause of her departure, however, was her "sudden discovery of Helmer's base, selfish character, and her disgust at his

conduct" (7). The repugnance she felt for the person who is now a stranger to her "might be supposed to extend in some measure to the children of whom he is the father" (7).

"Anceps" responds on the 21st that Nora is a character "almost as complex as Hamlet" (Anceps 5). The views expressed by the two earlier correspondents are therefore "not so much antagonistic as complementary" (5). Anceps takes issue with the *Argus*: "the motives that induced Norah [sic] to act as she did were many and varied, though your critic seems to have succeeded in missing them all" (5). The critic also failed, suggests Anceps, to grasp the "physical repugnance to and horror of" the "'strange man' whose wife she had been" (5). While not able to offer an opinion on the "merits of the play as an acting piece," Anceps can say that it is "a tribute to the talent of the dramatist that he should have written a play which leads one to talk and even to think about the characters in it" (5). The *Argus* critic was James Smith, who was known for making "'mid Victorian' decisions and anachronistic judgements," according to Ken Stewart (188). Smith wrote to J.C. Williamson "advising that the ending should be changed" so that Nora was, at the last, reunited with her husband (188). Either Williamson disagreed, or was unable to convince Achurch and Charrington, because the original ending was retained.

An article by Edward J. Hart in the *Argus* of September 21 points out that Ibsen had long been recognised as Scandinavia's "greatest national poet and dramatist" ("Ibsen: Interpreters" 13). His works were now provoking the "keenest interest" in London, "the capital of the English speaking world," where "the battle wages loud and long between the Ibsenites and the anti-Ibsenites" (13). Nora is a loving and impulsive but naïve woman, awoken to the "falseness of her position" (13). The play, according to Hart, brings into the open the inequities of marriage, and, more broadly, the problems with women's education (13). The extremely long article—almost three columns—concludes with the comment that Achurch and Charrington's own marriage was, unlike the one they presented in *Doll's House*, a "'marriage of true minds'"[71] (qtd. in 13).

The *Sydney Morning Herald* of 16 September also published a review of the opening performance. In this critic's opinion the play "proved that Henrick [sic] Ibsen does not deserve

support from the theatre-goers of this country" ("'Doll': First Production" 5). No character is decent except Krogstad, "the so-called villain" (5). Somewhat contradictorily, the critic then suggests that the play had been "white-washed" for the Australian market: Dr Rank, in the original, is a "depraved and a disgusting person" but in Australia becomes an "affable, genial old gentleman, whose weakness borders on the imbecile" (5). This review elicited no published response.

These excerpts represent only a part of all references to *A Doll's House* and Nora during this period. Some are complimentary; some, the opposite. As suggested by Pistachio in the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 17 October, "Melbourne has followed the London lead and very varied are the reports we hear regarding Nora" (29). The negative responses predominate only until February 1890, but there are two peaks. The first is in December 1889, when *Doll's House* was staged in Adelaide. The second, and smaller, is in February 1890, with the publication of a "sequel" to the play.

Adelaide: November to December 1889

The Adelaide season at the Theatre Royal opened on Saturday, 2 November 1889 with *The New Magdalen*. *A Doll's House* was not staged until the final three nights, the first being a command performance under the auspices of the Earl and Countess of Kintore on 7 December. It met with both indignation and support.

The critic for the *South Australian Register* opens their long review on Monday, 9 December with an attack on the title of the play: "it conveys nothing to the mind, and is inappropriate" ("Theatre Royal" 7). The critic disparages Ibsen and his "strange and fanciful views of the inner mysteries of the mind" (7). Each character Ibsen "created . . . to strut the stage" has some "idiosyncrasy not met with even amongst the 'eccentrics' who pose in private or public life" (7). The play, with its tone and lack of humour, "fascinates, and yet leaves an unsatisfied feeling" (7). It "abounds in vague sentiments foreign to our English training," in particular a young wife who takes eight years to discover a lack in her husband: a "British matron would have summed her 'worser half' up in a year or less" (7). The character of Nora is, the critic admits, complex and strange, not least because she "takes a startling

mental somersault" to change from the "wild gaiety of an unfettered girl" to an "unyielding creature with an incomprehensible mission to make herself and family miserable" (7). The review concludes with the comment that "the interest in the play never flags—in fact the action is too fast and the changes are too startling for that. It is a drama as powerful as it is peculiar, and will set people moralising over the strange phases of human nature" (7).

The review in the *Advertiser* is much shorter but just as condemnatory, although ending in a recommendation to see Achurch in the role of Nora. The review concentrates on Ibsen, and on *Doll's House* as a dramatic piece – "a play very eccentric in its style, its dialogue, and its moral" ("Theatre Royal" 5). The character of Nora "carries out her purpose with remorseless resolution, which will find little favor [sic] or sympathy with most" (5). "Ibsenism is not likely to become the rage in Australia," concludes the review, "but the Norwegian play when interpreted in the leading rôle by Miss Achurch is well worth seeing" (5).

The *Advertiser* review elicited no responses, but that in the *Register* sparked a series of letters to the editor. Where Melbourne letters were consistently sympathetic to the play and the protagonist, Adelaide letters were polarised, even to the extent of a minor altercation between the *Register* and a correspondent, L.A. Jessop, whose first letter was published on Saturday the 14th.

The *Register* review, says Jessop, sent them to the theatre, "to a pleasure such as I have not experienced for a long time" ("'Doll'" 7). The play's title, contrary to the critic's opinion, is "singularly appropriate," not to be taken literally but as a metaphor for a "'fool's paradise'" (7). The keynote of the criticism is the critic's reference to the "vague sentiments" alien to English training (7). It is against the English type of "respectability" that Ibsen strives, suggests Jessop; that respectability brought about by "rank, impudence, or a sufficiency of wealth," be the person ever so "selfish, unprincipled, [or] uncultivated" (7).

Further, the critic "singularly misunderstands" Nora when seeing "something inconsistent" in her decision to leave (Jessop "'Doll'" 7). Discovery of her husband's selfishness, "while it shatters her ideal, shows her own superiority" (7). Rather than going against her professed love for her children,

she is showing "love in its purest form" (7). When her husband tells her that she "inherits a taint" from her father, she is horrified that she may pass this taint on to her own children (7). Her leaving is therefore an act of love, not of cruelty (7). Were Ibsen to write a sequel, ponders Jessop, perhaps Nora will have returned, "her light-heartedness" gone, estranged from her husband, but in "unselfish devotion" to her children (7). "There have been and there are such women," Jessop concludes; and "to one who studies the signs of the times, there is great need of them" (7).

The critic's response to Jessop is unpleasant in tone and language. The title is a joke, both "flabby and . . . ponderous"; book stores at which the critic enquired for the play thought they were seeking a toy (Your Critic 7). "When I saw [Nora] first," the critic comments, "I thought she was only fond, foolish, and fanciful. When I saw her again I came to the conclusion that she was not accountable for her actions" (7). She is not an example of the "type of noble womanhood" that we need; she is "a sloven . . .; a fibster . . .; and an unreasoning weakling" (7). A "high-minded woman" who discovered her husband's perfidy would stay and shield her children: she would "make a martyr of herself for the sake of her little ones" (7). Torvald had committed no offence: he is "a high-minded, honourable man" (7). The "inconsistency" comes in with Nora's "sudden transformation from an irrational, wild, deceptive, slovenly woman to one capable of making such a fearfully far-fetched sacrifice for principle" (7). "The woman," concludes Your Critic, "was eminently eccentric, and just as well out of the house" (7).

Jessop's response was published the following day, Tuesday, 17 December. Jessop takes exception to various references made by Your Critic to comments Jessop had supposedly expressed ("To Editor" 6). For example, Jessop says, he did not claim that "Ibsen's title conveyed a joke" or that he had "denied the possibility of finding nobler, higher-minded, and steadier women" than Nora (6). Jessop had doubted the critic's "ability to analyse Nora and those doubts are now confirmed" (6). Nora is "a human being" but "not a mere creature of conventionalisms and millinery" (6). She marries in trust and innocence, and expects from her husband the same level of sacrifice as she herself is prepared to make (6). Ibsen, Jessop concludes, has "failed to convey his intentions to your critic, but considering

his reputation it is just possible that this may not be altogether his fault" (6). It is not clear to whom Jessop was referring in his parting shot, Ibsen or Your Critic. To his letter, however, the editor adds: "It is a pity our correspondent cannot carry on a controversy without adopting towards the opponent a studiously offensive tone" ("To Editor" 6).

The *Register* critic found support from other quarters, including "Dr. Rank." This correspondent had "watched with interest the discussion on Ibsen's 'Doll's House,' in which controversy Mr. Jessop has taken his defeat so illhumouredly" (Dr. Rank 6). The critic "takes the right view" (6). Ibsen did not intend Nora to be a heroine, but "simply a psychological puzzle—and not a very pleasant one" (6). Nora is "a woman of excitable temperament and criminal instinct"; there was little, suggests Dr. Rank, "to admire in her character and much to deplore" (6).

Also taking this viewpoint was E. Pariss Nesbit.[72] He opens his long missive with the comment that social invitations in England frequently include the following warning: "'"A Doll's House" not to be mentioned'" (Nesbit 6).[73] The colonies had "not yet quite arrived" at that necessity 6). Nesbit had not only attended the play, but had read a copy of the script lent to him by the Charringtons, and in his confirmed opinion, while Ibsen is an author of genius, the play is unsatisfactory, "whether as a study of human nature, an artistic drama, or an ethical lesson" (6).

Implicit in Nesbit's reading is the Victorian perceptions of man as the stronger vessel, and woman as the weaker. According to Nesbit, if Nora's husband had taken her debt, knowing it was fraudulent, he would have "blasted" his own future, hers, and the children's (6). "Where a woman has sacrificed her so-called honour for love, neither the loss of her reputation nor the act which resulted in such loss was any slur upon her true womanhood," considers Nesbit (6). For a man it is different: what was only "venial" for Nora would have felt an "ineffaceable degradation" to Torvald (6).

Perhaps the most interesting letter is one subscribed "Thorvald Helmer." While this letter is set in a humorous frame, it clearly sits at the "more antagonistic" end of the spectrum. Almost a short story, it is written as if by Nora's husband. It begins: "I have naturally read with a great

amount of interest the letters emanating from Mr. Jessop and your critic, with regard to the life and character of my wife Nora Helmer" (Thorvald Helmer 6). He married Nora for love despite her family's reputation, and she became for him the "bright being" in whom he found surcease at the end of the day (6). Over time he noticed his beautiful wife changing, becoming childish and deceitful, despite his ever-increasing efforts to show his love. After many challenges in life and an illness bringing him near to death he had the chance of security in a position where integrity was paramount. With a lifelong repugnance for dishonesty, when he discovered his wife's perfidy and with a man whom he did not trust, he unthinkingly turned on her. His love and reason quickly reasserted, he forgave her, and sought her forgiveness, only to be rejected. She had, she said, suddenly realised she was only his plaything, and wanted it no more. At first she contemplated suicide, without thought for her children who would have been forever tainted. Now they sit with him, day after day, asking for their mother. "What can I tell them?" he concludes, "[i]s this woman, who is even now legally my wife, fit to be their mother? I trow not" (6).

The final letter in the series is from S. Talbot Smith. Smith's stance on Ibsen, the play, and Nora, is equivocal: not overtly antagonistic but by no means enamoured of Ibsen, his works, or his dramatic characters. This entry is one of the few which is difficult to code, because it seems to slide, uncertain of its place on the continuum from "sympathetic" to "antipathetic." Overall it tends slightly to the negative and has been coded as such. In a tone which could be interpreted as weary, Smith dissects the play's construction and characters, finding them wanting. According to Smith, the "real reason" why *A Doll's House* "sets people by the ears to such an extent" is because playgoers are accustomed to "most of our books and nearly all our plays" following a conventional format, where heroes are clearly heroes, and villains, villains (S. T. Smith 7). While delighted that characters are no longer named to predispose audience response (for example, "Allworthy" or "Bountiful"), Smith considers the characters in *Doll's House* are too extremely the opposite and leave too many questions unanswered – there is no way to know, even from their behaviour and dialogue, who is the hero and who the villain, if there is one (7). To be popular, opines Smith, all

the play needs is a different ending, where Nora perhaps leaves, but returns after a night's consideration (7). A stronger man than the "fatuously weak" Torvald would have prevented her leaving in the first place, "by force if necessary" – or at least locked her up until she came to her senses (7).[74] The letter concludes with an oblique compliment to Ibsen: "In 'The Doll's House' he has given us a dose of bitters. One would not choose to live upon them, perhaps, but, taken in moderation, there can be no doubt of their effect upon the appetite" (7).

Apart from this exchange of letters, little fuel for the *Doll's House* controversy appeared in the papers during the short Adelaide season. It is probable that the *Register* exercised its editorial privilege of printing only those missives—or parts—which accorded with the paper's ideologies. On the other hand, letters were no doubt selected for publication for their likelihood of creating or intensifying controversy. The examples shown here certainly make for interesting reading.

Melbourne again: December 1889-June 1890

The company returned to Melbourne, but *A Doll's House* was not restaged during this period. It was not *Doll's House* that created another spike in the graph but a purported sequel, written by Walter Besant.[75] Ibsen did not write a sequel to the play, nor, except for a version on the German stage in 1880, did he change the ending as had been recommended—even demanded—by many. Different versions were written, however; some by friends, some by foes.

Eleanor Marx-Aveling re-wrote the ending, published under the title "A Doll's House Repaired" in *Time* magazine in March 1891 (pages 239–53), and later issued, with Israel Zangwill,[76] as a pamphlet (Crawford n.pag.). It is now accessible on the Marxist Internet Archive. In her introduction, Marx-Aveling claims that she is not interfering with "the Great Architect" Ibsen's work, but is simply restoring his original intention (n.pag.). Much of the dialogue in the final scene has been transposed, so it is Torvald who seeks the "miracle" of his wife's avowed intention to subsume herself in her husband as was right and proper (n.pag.). Where Ibsen's version ends with the banging of a street door as Nora enters her new life, Marx-Aveling's concludes with Torvald's bedroom door shutting. Nora, meanwhile, has been locked in the study until she learns what her

"holiest duties" really are (n.pag.). Although this version of the ending appears, as Marx-Aveling claims, to "satisfy the English sense of morality and decency," there is also enough melodrama to make one suspect that the version was presented as irony, with a sub-text very much different from its overt intentions.

Walter Besant's sequel, *The Doll's House – and After*, had no intention of parody. The story of *A Doll's House* is taken up twenty years later, when Nora is a successful authoress, hard, independent, and uninterested in her husband and children.[77] Torvald is an alcoholic, as is the eldest son. The other son is involved in (unspecified) crime. The only seemingly unaffected child is Emma, a seamstress, who is engaged to be married to Nils, the son of Krogstad and the former Mrs Linden. During Nora's visit to the town, Mrs Krogstad pleads with her to make peace with Emma, who is trying vainly to hold the family together. Nora calls on Emma in disguise, offering to reconcile her with her mother, but Emma is determined to move to America with Nils. Krogstad tells Emma he would never let a son of his marry into such a disgraced family. In the final scenes, Nora is leaving but her coach is delayed by a crowd and a drowned body – Emma's. Mrs Krogstad begs Nora to stay, but Nora hardens her heart, and leaves (Besant).[78]

The story appeared in the *English Illustrated Magazine* in January 1890 (pages 315–25). Reference to its publication was made in newspapers or periodicals in nearly every major centre in Australia. Its existence was mentioned in the *Launceston Examiner* on 29 January 1890 and in the *Maitland Mercury* the following day. It was cited in support of an article on divorce in the *Mercury* on 8 February. The writer cites the "veteran British Statesman," Gladstone,[79] who considered that divorce had become too easy since the 1857 Divorce Act, one result of which was a decline in the standards of "conjugal morality" in Great Britain ("Epitome of News" 3). "The strongest commentary on the misery following the exercise of the divorce privilege" is, according to the writer, Walter Besant's sequel to *Doll's House* (3). "The keynote of the story," suggests the writer, is "'[p]ity the children'" (3).

The plot was published in the *Argus* of 22 February 1890. The newspaper considers that Besant had brought Ibsen's play to a "legitimate and logical conclusion" ("Jan. Mag." 4). The *Illustrated Sydney News* of 6 March goes to the extent of thanking Besant for his "intensely sad, but perfectly logical, sequel" which "laid bare the unhealthy moral" of Ibsen's play, and "demonstrated the inevitable results of such heartless conduct" as Nora's ("Art and Literary" 5). The only article showing some resistance to the story appears in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 8 February. It acknowledges that the sequel is "powerful and very sad," and Besant's portrayal of the consequences of Nora's departure from the marital home was "so audacious as to be almost brilliant" ("Magazines for January" 6). It gives, however, a "kind of shock when Ibsen's fine imaginative work is submitted so ruthlessly to the judgment of Mrs. Grundy" (6). Besant's sequel was serialised in both the *Kyabram Union* and the *Portland Guardian*, the first four chapters on 28 February, and the last three on 7 March 1890.

Shaw took exception to Besant's work, and wrote a sequel to the sequel. *Still after the Doll's House* appeared in February 1890 in *Time* magazine (pages 197–208). Shaw's work was anthologised in a limited collected edition in 1932, and republished in a standard edition in 1934, in *Short Stories, Scraps and Shavings*. Shaw takes up the story where Besant's ends, except that Nora does not leave (Shaw "Still After" 136). Krogstad has become, through his wife's efforts at respectability, mayor and banker. While publicly denouncing Nora, he secretly visits her for surcease from his wife's constant imprecations. When next he visits, he is at first relieved when she does not mention Emma's suicide, or his part in it. To his horror, however, Nora dissects the reality behind Krogstad's mask of respectability. His children, unlike hers, are public models of respectability; in reality, their façades hide a multitude of petty unpleasantnesses, as do those of Krogstad's self-righteous board members. She points out that each member's private predilections, including Krogstad's clandestine visits to herself, are known to all, and discussed with glee behind closed doors.

Krogstad is shocked that Nora is willing to shatter his illusions. Worse, Nora reveals her knowledge of his part in her daughter's death: had Krogstad acknowledged to Emma his friendship

with her mother, she would have found the respectability she craved. Krogstad, rather than accepting responsibility, blames his wife's unattainable ideals. Nora tells him that she had not realised when she left Torvald, but now understands, that "the man must walk out of the doll's house as well as the woman" (Shaw "Still After" 136). Krogstad is concerned that society will blame him for Emma's death, but Nora assures him she has already become the scapegoat. She predicts that by tomorrow, he will have forgotten his culpability, and again publicly shake his head in sorrow at her: the mayor could do no other. Krogstad cries that it is easier for a woman to leave a marriage than for a man. Yes, agrees Nora, "'mastery is the worst slavery of all'" (136). Krogstad, angry, leaves: "Then the house door was heard to bang" (136).

This story, too, must have reached Australian readers, in *Time*, or through the Charringtons. Shaw had sent Achurch and Charrington a copy of both his and Besant's works under cover of a letter dated 28 January 1890. He was, he writes, prompted to pen the sequel, not because there had been an outcry against Besant from the "Ibsenites" but because they had considered it beneath their notice (Shaw "Charrington" 239). Moreover, says Shaw, his sequel had been "declared to be beneath the level even of Besant's" and both Archer and Marx-Aveling had begged him not to publish (239). But he had done so, and surmised that there would ensue "discussion, and repetition of Doll's House Doll's House Doll's House here, there & everywhere, which is the desideratum" (240).

Sydney: July-October 1890

In October 1889, Pistachio had wondered how Sydney would react to *A Doll's House*, and to Nora in particular. Sydney, she thinks, has a "wholesome dread of originality . . . and we have a special objection to the emancipation of women. Under these circumstances what fate awaits poor Nora?" (Pistachio 31). In July 1890 that question was answered – and rather than "poor Nora" it was "hail, Nora."

The spike in the graph here is different from those preceding it: the "sympathetic" out-number the "antipathetic." Although the trend towards negative responses lasted only until February 1890, antipathy still existed. The *Herald* received a minor flood of contentious letters after the play's first

appearance. A clear theme emerges: the question of where a woman's duty lies. For some, to be true wives and mothers women need first to be true individuals. For others, marriage is sacrosanct, and a wife's duty is to keep the family together through good times and bad, even at a cost to herself.

A long article in the *Herald* a week prior to the Sydney premiere provides Ibsen's biography, a précis of his works, and a brief history of the production of *Doll's House* in its various English incarnations, including Archer's version which had now been staged in London, Melbourne, and Adelaide. "Considerable interest," concludes the article, "attaches to the first appearance in this city of Miss Achurch, in the character of Nora" ("Amusements: Ibsen and 'Doll'" 7).

The opening night was well-attended, despite competition from Nellie Stewart and the Paul Jones Opera Company at the Royal. Although later reviews and opinions were less judgmental, that in the *Herald* on Monday the 14th was decidedly negative, and may have been written by the critic who condemned the play upon its premiere in Melbourne. The plot, according to the critic, was unamusing and uninteresting, the ending illogical and unsatisfactory, the dialogue flat, the dramaturgy feeble, and Nora "the antithesis of nature" ("'Doll': Criterion" 6).

M.W. MacCallum disputes the review.[80] While acknowledging that *A Doll's House* would not please everyone, "not a few of us on Saturday evening received quite a different impression from that of . . . the *Herald* critic" (MacCallum 8). If intending playgoers only hear adverse criticism, MacCallum contends, then the season of *Doll's House* may be abridged, berefting Sydney of "one of the greatest intellectual treats that have ever been offered them" (8). To read Ibsen is to admire his "insight into the poetry of commonplace lives," but to see Ibsen acted was to confirm him as a dramatist of power (8). Of course, considers MacCallum, Ibsen had been brought to the stage with "acting of the very highest order" (8).

Triumvir, a few days later, suggests that *A Doll's House* is a "sign of the times" ("Art, Music" 5). The "grave defect" from a theatrical point of view lay in the ending (5). "The modern audience comes to the theatre to be amused, not to think; to have a riddle solved, not to be puzzled over a

problem," contends Triumvir (5). Nora should not have left the marital home: the "best thing" would be for "the man and wife to set about trying to understand each other" (5).

"Orielensis" disagrees. While much of Triumvir's contention is correct, the gulf of misunderstanding is too large and it would be foolish for Nora to stay and try to bridge it (Orielensis 7). Nora did not separate husband and wife upon her departure: she and Torvald never were together (7). She should not even stay for the sake of the children: "their existence adds poignancy to the catastrophe, but can in no way avert it" (7). Orielensis is surprised that some object to the play because it makes them think: only children always seek the fairytale ending (7).

On 26 July 1890 the *Herald* published two long articles. The first, "A Woman's View" by Rose de Boheme, relates more to whether Nora is justified in leaving; its focus is female emancipation.[81] The second, "A Man's View" by "Q," discusses audience (especially male) reaction to a form of drama different from the customary. Both strongly support the play.

Women, according to de Boheme, had long been told to "be true," not to themselves, but to their "proper sphere: to husband, child, family circle, and social tradition": thank goodness for Ibsen (4). Until now, most of the discussion about Nora in print has been between men, and it is time for women to analyse her conduct (4). The main question seems to be whether Nora was justified in leaving her children (4). Most men, even Nora's most enthusiastic supporters, cannot quite bring themselves to say "yes" (4). Many women, too: they can understand a wife leaving for a lover, but not for the sake of her children (4). For the many couples who stay together for the children, de Boheme considers, there are as many children who curse them for doing so (4). As to marriage: even the most traditional of males who has perceived his wife as "a doll or a drudge" now catches a "glimmering" that marriage can be a spiritual union, as well as a physical or financial one (4). It is up to the women to lead the way into a future where there is equality, and not one code for women, and another for men (4). This can only occur, de Boheme suggests, when women have "learned their duty to themselves; have climbed the spiritual heights hand in hand with men" (4).

De Boheme is supported by "Zicka" who on 29 July contends that Ibsen deliberately closed the play as he did in order to stimulate discussion (6). He wrote it to make the world think, especially men, ninety out of a hundred of whom do not consider women as equals (6). Many women awaken to the same realisation as Nora, but weaken, as Nora did not (6). If there are no children, considers Zicka, most women could do as Nora did, and win a "glorious victory" for themselves (6). When there are children, however, it is harder for women to leave; men feel that the motherly instinct will over-ride all and feel secure in their behaviour, whether good or ill (6). The inclusion of children in Ibsen's play underscores Nora's strength in escaping (6).

Q begins "A Man's View" by analysing the three types of person who take up new causes. First, there is the feverish neurotic; second, the "lone female of gaunt aspect and self-assertive individuality"; and third, the earnest student (Q 4). Each of these types is represented in the current discussions, suggests Q, who places himself in the third category (4). Ibsen had made "notable contributions" to discussion on women's issues (4). Audiences, however, do not usually care if a playwright has social theories or if plays have morals; they seek "action, incident, scenery, comedy or tragedy . . . and a running fire of brisk conversation" (4). "There are certain well-recognised canons of popular dramatic criticism" to do with these elements, the writer continues, and *Doll's House* lacks them all, up until Nora has her flash of insight (4).

Despite these deficiencies, Q continues, *Doll's House* shows the difference between "the woman as she should be and the woman as conventional life and manners made her" (4). "There is enough truth to fact in Ibsen's play to make it a vigorous and biting satire on our much-praised civilisation," continues Q (4). The average playgoer is accustomed to female virtue being rescued from villainy by a shining hero; in *Doll's House*, the "ogre" is "conventional civilisation" (4). Nora's sudden awareness of the ogre scares the average playgoer – they feel that if all "wives and mothers" suddenly followed suit the family would be under threat (4). The average male playgoer, considers Q, probably entered marriage thinking his hearth and home inviolate, and for this reason would not be won over by the play's moral (4).

Q does not win over "Another Man," who responds in the *Herald* on 29 July. This correspondent claims that a lifelong belief in "the intellectual superiority of men over women" had been severely shaken when reading the views of de Boheme and Q (Another Man 6). "A Woman's View" deserves "respectful praise," in this correspondent's opinion, but whoever wrote "A Man's View" did not give *A Doll's House* careful and serious consideration, merely producing an "amusing newspaper article" (6). Is the play indeed deficient in "certain well recognised canons of dramatic criticism" or is it only seen so because it has been said so often? (6). Even some of Shakespeare's works, this correspondent points out, have been considered by some to sin against the conventional canons (6).

On 2 August a letter under the title "A Wife's View" takes up the challenge of where a woman's first duty lies. It is published under the pseudonym "A": "Australie," namely Mrs Heron, at that time in the position of "associate editress" at the *Herald*, according to her obituary in the *Illustrated Sydney News* only four weeks later ("In Memoriam" 9).[82] A's view is that Nora was wrong to leave. The matter of "conjugal relations" has been widely discussed lately, acknowledges A, one of the issues being whether a woman's first duty is to herself, or to her husband (5). Nora represents the "typical awakened" woman, but if all wives—and husbands—did as she did it would result in "a wholesale devastation of homes" (5). Millions of women have remained loyal to their husbands and true to their marriage vows, under terrible conditions, working to "knit new bonds of mutual love" (5). Surely Ibsen will write a sequel in which Nora discovers her folly, and returns home penitent? (5). Perhaps Torvald will find her near death in a slum, and lovingly take her home to learn to be an example of womanhood, "fit to be a helpmeet for husbands, and a guide to sons" (5).

The final letter in the series agrees. Nora is not strong, suggests this correspondent on 5 August, but "a weak woman who has never learned what stern imperative duty is, or how to obey it" (Hartley 7). It is not easy to become a good wife and mother but costs hours of study of "noble characters, of lives of great and good men," suggests Hartley (7). If Nora had stayed, she eventually

may have regained her husband's respect and love, showing her children that women do not have to be dolls (7). By the time this letter was published, Achurch's first Sydney season had concluded, and she was leaving for her three month tour of New Zealand.

New Zealand: October 1890-January 1891

Although no discussion of the issues that had been raised appeared in Australian newspapers during Achurch's absence from the country, argument and counter-argument were still appearing in English periodicals. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) had been republished in August 1891, and novels such as Rosa Praed's *The Bond of Wedlock* (1887) had begun appearing, as well as plays such as Ibsen's, Strindberg's *Miss Julie* (1888), and Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Weaker Sex* (1888). It is reasonable to suggest that these publications occasioned further debate on women's issues.

Brisbane: February 1891

The company returned to Australia via Brisbane, where they stayed for two weeks. On 7 February, the day of their arrival, the *Brisbane Courier* devoted a column to Achurch, noting her and Charrington's involvement in Archer's translation of *A Doll's House* and their instrumentality in bringing the play to the English-speaking world, first in London and then in Australia ("Miss Janet Achurch" 5). The article notes that the demand for printed versions of *Doll's House* was as high in the colonies as it was in England: "thousands of copies . . . have been sent to Australia even within the last few months" (5). *A Doll's House* premiered in Brisbane on Wednesday, 11 February, for three nights. Critical response focuses for the most part on the play's ending.

For the *Courier* of the 12th, earlier reports had not done the play justice: "[i]ts fidelity to the author's ideal, its perfect naturalness, and its singular dramatic power stamped it as the work of the highest ability, if not histrionic genius" ("Miss Achurch: Royal: 'Doll'" 5). The play does not end wrongly: "The ending of the drama is unspeakably sad, and peculiar as it is, it is hard to see how the author could have made it different" (5). There was no response to this review.

One further opinion about the ending of the play appears in the *Courier* on 13 February. There are two stories, the writer suggests: one of a "painfully reactionary" woman, and the other, of an "impulsive and impetuous" woman ("Fri. Feb. 13 1891" 4). While the latter is willing to sacrifice all for her husband, she is remiss in not taking a few days to reflect; despite this, "a permanent estrangement [would not] corrode the pure metal of her soul" (4). Ibsen could have portrayed a normal situation where Nora may have achieved a "noble victory over self" but he has not: he gives an unusual one where her disappointment over her husband's disloyalty is too hard to bear (4). While the writer gives no clear opinion whether Nora's decision to leave was right or wrong, the tone of the article is not hostile.

Melbourne: March-April 1891

A Doll's House was not staged for the first month after the company's arrival for their third Melbourne season in March. It opened on Wednesday, 8 April for a six-day run. There was very little public response in the press. The initial shock had passed, and perhaps, too, playgoers were more familiar with the new type of drama. This was certainly the opinion of an *Argus* writer on the 9th. "On its first production," considers the writer, the play was "'*caviare* to the general'" ("Thu. Apr. 9 1891" 5, italics in original). During that run, it "gained an increasing hold of the public, and this improved understanding of Ibsen's modes of thought was made abundantly evident by the intelligent reception of the drama . . . yesterday evening" (5). No letters appear in response to the play or the review.

Ballarat and Bendigo: April-May 1891

The Melbourne season ended on 17 April. The company returned to Sydney via Ballarat and Bendigo, performing at both these centres. The debates in the press during this period do not include *A Doll's House* or Nora, but relate mainly to *Ghosts*, which was considered by some as extremely offensive. While this play would not be brought to the Australian stage until 1923, print copies had been available in Sydney and Hobart bookstores, and most likely others, since May 1890.[83]

Sydney: May-June 1891

Few dissenting voices were raised in Sydney during this second visit. This season was shorter than the first, at only seven weeks compared to eleven; in fact, as the tour progressed, seasons in each major centre had become more abbreviated. *Doll's House* was staged only intermittently during these few weeks, first on 6 June as a matinee for the Women's College Fund (the performance at which Lady Jersey declined to be present), then again on 13 June, and on two nights at the close of the season.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* review of the matinee on 8 June is in clear contrast to earlier ones in that newspaper. While no doubt written with a bias towards to the charitable cause for which it was staged, it also evidences that the play was by now considered more seriously as a focus for women's issues. The selection of play could not have been more apt, considers the writer, because both the Fund and *Doll's House* "have reference to the education of women" ("Women's College" 3). Nora's role is "a biting satire on the limitations to the education of woman" (3). As for the dramaturgy: "Ibsen does away . . . with the gauze and limelight of conventionality on the stage which by prescriptive custom has come to lend a stereotyped unreality to most of the pseudo-realism of theatrical performances" (3).

While the review elicited no letters, the issue of whether Nora was justified in leaving her children, hotly debated in the *Herald* a few months previously, was revisited by "A Wife and Mother." "While talkers discuss and re-discuss the question . . . the real message of the author is neglected," considers the correspondent (Wife and Mother 7). The real message, according to the writer, is that a woman finds it morally wrong to give herself heart and soul to a man with whom she has no spiritual communion (7). To some, they consider, this is a revelation; to others, a "shocking and monstrous suggestion" (7). The best lessons often lie in the words left unwritten: "[t]he performance of Miss Achurch is partly the translation of the unwritten thought," and "without seeing it [the play] is 'misunderstood'" (7). Further, to those who criticise Nora's actions as encouraging "child desertion, forgery, and lying," the writer responds that watching a play in which

there is a murder is not perceived as promoting murder, so Nora's situation should not be perceived any differently (7). She is punished in a way which ought to "satisfy the most ardent lover of retributive justice" (7).

Goulburn, Wagga Wagga, Albury, Benalla, Geelong, Warrnambool, and Hamilton: July 1891

The company again left the coast for a tour of country New South Wales and Victoria, performing in various smaller communities *en route* to Broken Hill. Reviews and opinions varied, especially in Warrnambool, but the general trend was positive. References to *A Doll's House,* Nora, and Ibsen continued to appear in periodicals throughout the colonies, but there was nothing of a controversial nature.

Broken Hill: August 1891

The company opened in Broken Hill on Saturday, 1 August 1891, and *A Doll's House* was staged on 10 and 11 August. There were no real points of contention in the press. Both a review in the *Barrier Miner* on Tuesday, 11 August and an opinion entitled "The Lecture-Play" in the same issue acknowledge Ibsen's mastery of the stage but consider that *Doll's House* was unlikely to attract a popular following. The opinion does condemn Ibsen's perceived advocacy of individualism: "we . . . trust that he pours his doctrines into unsympathetic ears in Australia" ("Lecture-Play" 2).

Adelaide: August 1891

From Broken Hill the company returned to Adelaide for four days, during which time *A Doll's House* was staged once, and *Hedda Gabler* had its Australian premiere.[84] Press coverage leading up to the visit was strong, despite the brevity of the season. An item in the *Advertiser* on the 20th, two days before opening night, notifies "members of the public whose conscientious scruples prevent them from visiting the theatre" that they ought to find in Achurch's schedule, "without fear of endangering those scruples," opportunities to witness "intellectual plays" ("Achurch-Charrington" 7). Apart from *Doll's House* and *Hedda*, the only other plays performed were *Forget-me-not* and *Still Waters Run Deep*.

It would be interesting to know why Adelaide was selected to introduce this second controversial Ibsen play, considering the city's frigid reception of *Doll's House* almost two years previously. Perhaps a sense of mischief prompted Achurch and Charrington to experiment on Adelaide: the review notes that the play had been hastily rehearsed. There was little reaction to either *Doll's House* or *Hedda*, however. The general view on *Hedda* was that there was not enough action, and it tended to "utter dreariness" ("Albert Hall: 'Hedda'" 6).[85] Where previous letters to a large extent related to Nora, her behaviour and final departure, from now until the close of the tour the major topic was the perceived messages in Ibsen's play, particularly those relating to women's issues.

It is at this stage that it becomes apparent that *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* had been appropriated to advance causes important to women. A letter published in the *South Australian Register* on 31 August links Nora and Hedda to both female enfranchisement and the private/public dichotomy. The Albert Hall, where *Hedda* premiered, was later to become a focal point for meetings and lectures on women's issues, including the franchise; only three years later, in 1894, South Australia was the first Australian State to grant women the vote.

Under the rubric "Women's Franchise Bill," the letter takes issue with an article in the same paper the previous week deriding the concept of women's involvement in politics. This correspondent points out that not all women wish to fill their days with domestic duties or gossiping about fashion (A Woman 7). "We have just been favoured here in Adelaide," the writer asserts, "with a portrayal of how the 'angel on a pedestal' or doll theory works. Perhaps such as Nora or even Hedda might have been different creatures if the one had been treated as a responsible human being and the other had found some more profitable occupation for her spare time" (7).

Albany, Perth, Fremantle, York, Northam: September-October 1891

From Adelaide the company travelled to Western Australia, where discussions were already heated. The company's imminent arrival had been promoted through the press and advertising posters. The most prominent peaks in the graph occur at this time.

An article in the *West Australian* on 27 August ponders the consequences of the visit. "Wherever Miss Achurch has appeared she has divided the playgoing world into two corps, Ibsenites and anti-Ibsenites," the article declares, "and it will be interesting to ascertain whether the controversy aroused in other places will be awakened here" ("News and Notes" 4). It was.

The opening salvo was fired on 4 September by "A West Australian." This correspondent had read the précis of *Hedda* in the *West Australian*, and objected to being the subject of an experiment (A West Australian 2). Lady Jersey is congratulated on her moral stand against the "unmitigated unwholesomeness" of *A Doll's House*: everyone knows there are "moral rubbish heaps" in the world, but why must the "most offensive pickings from them" appear on stage? (2). There resulted a long and intricate chain of claim and counterclaim through letters to the editor, the main points of contention being whether Ibsen's plays truly reflect the human state, and if so, whether their morality was of a sufficiently high standard to be admitted onto the public stage.

The first response was from "Veritas" in the *West Australian* on 14 September.[86] The long missive opens with a recommendation for calm reflection rather than conflict. "The first shot is fired. The peaceful seclusion of Western Australia will now be disturbed by the fierce war that has raged over Europe these two years past," Veritas begins (2). "Let us make one more attempt to bring . . . a moment's calm consideration," they continue (2). Some would have us believe that Ibsen's plays are "'inartistic, ill-composed creations of a brain full of bitterness, immorality and conceit'" (2). The reality is, we do not like being shown ourselves as in a mirror: if Ibsen's plays did not have some truth, they would not have created such a furore (2).

Moreover, continues Veritas, Ibsen does not hold Nora up as an ideal; she makes mistakes, realises and acknowledges them, and decides not to perpetuate them (2). Many men—most of them married—are galled by Torvald's response, because they would have reacted the same way, now shown to be "cowardly hypocrisy" (2). The major source of criticism is the play's ending, which is not nicely tied up and therefore easily forgotten (2). Ibsen is labelled as a "crazy freak of an immoral author" who should only write "literature" that "may be a worthy subject of discussion for school-

girls" (2). Veritas concludes with the hope that society's double standards will disappear, and what are now called "very nasty subjects" can be discussed openly and honestly (2).

An article in the *West Australian* takes issue with Veritas's letter. Under the rubric "Vigilans et Audax," it is published the same day and therefore must have been written by a member of the paper's staff.[87] The arrival of Achurch and *A Doll's House*, the article proposes, would bring with it the duel between "the old and new school of artistic ethics" ("Vigilans" 4). Veritas, opines the writer, counsels impartiality and calm consideration but shows his true colours as an Ibsenite, "revealed in all the intensity of his faith" (4). Until now most information on Ibsen and his plays has been "second hand from critics," few copies of the plays being available in Perth bookstores (4). Perth playgoers will now have the opportunity of making up their own minds (4).

The purpose of Ibsen's plays is not to amuse but to instruct, the article continues ("Vigilans" 4). Where some playwrights paint their message in terms of human virtue, Ibsen paints his with vice: he portrays "nobility of character" but "leans decidedly to the dark side of life" (4). His characters have been criticised as "abnormal"; Shakespeare gave us Iago and Caliban, but they are exceptions, "whereas Ibsen's abnormalities are the rule" (4). This is Ibsen's flaw: he claims to hold up a mirror to nature, but "presents us with a distorted image scarcely recognisable as human" (4). He may be a great "word-artist" but, concludes the writer, it is doubtful whether Ibsen "will ever rank as a true delineator of his species" (4).

The stance of both "M.N." of Perth and "S.W." of Fremantle was decidedly anti-Ibsen and anti-Veritas. According to M.N. on the 15th, Ibsen's works were obscene; all Ibsen wanted was money, and all Veritas wanted was war (6). That war had been fought until now only by "certain literary sets," mostly in England: "foreigners" are "accustomed to morbidity in art" but perhaps "we" have "wholesomer instincts" (6). The lessons obtained from the stage ought to be "in the shape of dramatic representation of what is good and noble" (6). It is "sheer nonsense" that Ibsen ought to write down to "the level of the school girl," claims M.N.; rather, he should write "'up' to the intelligence of the average man and woman" (6). It is known that evil is everywhere, but it is

preferable to study the beautiful (6). "Notoriety pays," however, and Ibsen has chosen that course (6). "Most heartily do I support 'M.N.'," writes S.W. on the 16th (5). Education of the young on the "immoralities of human life" should be done in the home, not by reading or watching Ibsen or Zola (5).[88] "We should see that our young are rather led by paths hedged in by virtue and good teaching, than those enveloped in an atmosphere of immoral odours," asserts S.W. (5).

A Doll's House opened on the 16th to critical approval from both the *West Australian* and the *Daily News*. The battle of letters continued. *Hedda* was staged in Perth on the 22nd, but *Doll's House* remained the main focus of contention. Veritas on the 17th takes issue with both M.N. and S.W., defending Ibsen's motives for writing as he did, and accusing both correspondents of seeking only the "inane" rather than the "sort of literature meant for men and women in search of the truth" (6). Furthermore, at no time had Veritas suggested taking children to Ibsen's plays (6). Veritas (after calling M.N. a "goose" and S.W. "another cackler") concludes with the hope that any further diatribes are of higher quality than those to date (6).

S.W's response on the 19th is that Veritas's personal attack on S.W. and M.N. endorses S.W's point that children ought not be subjected to teaching such as those in Ibsen's plays (3). S.W. quotes King Solomon: "Lead up a child in the way in which he should go, and be sure he will not depart from it" (3). Here, the editor interposes: "'S.W.' surely quotes Solomon from memory'" (3).[89] All teaching needs both sides of an issue, contends S.W., but the truth ought not to be sought in dunghills: everyone knows immoralities exist, but "there is no need to advertise them" (3). S.W. concludes by refusing to enter into any further correspondence with Veritas (3).

Veritas clearly was in the audience for *Doll's House* on the 16th. "By this time everybody who has seen [the play] knows that the long expected 'immoralities' do not exist," declares Veritas on the 22nd, "and that Ibsen's tone is on the contrary most delicate" (6). Remarks to that effect (often tinged with disappointment) had been heard "everywhere among the public" (6). By now S.W. should be aware that the public had been "misled as to the contents of Ibsen's plays being obscene" (6). As to whether society's ills ought to be laid bare, Veritas reminds that "truth is beautiful" and

that beauty lies not only in the light but also in the shadow: "things are but known by their contrasts" (6).

Nothing further is heard from Veritas, S.W., or M.N. The final word is had by "Moderation" on 23 September. This correspondent observes that those taking an interest are of two extremes: the "enthusiastically for, or emphatically against—no connecting link" (Moderation 3). Ibsen, suggests Moderation, probes society's ills, like a surgeon who, seeing an ugly wound, does not bandage it out of sight hoping it will disappear, but tries to find, and cure, the underlying cause (3).

The "ill" on which Moderation focuses is Torvald's behaviour when confronted with his wife's problem. "Who in witnessing 'A Doll's House' would not be disgusted and indignant at the despicable meanness of Torvald," queries the correspondent, "when in the moment of his wife's supreme trial he throws aside his cloak of love and devotion, and shows himself in his true character?" (Moderation 3). This scene should "set a man thinking how he would act under similar circumstances": "[i]s he the fine chivalrous fellow he always took himself to be," Moderation asks, "or is he not some distant relative of Torvald?" (3). "Are there no 'doll's houses' now . . . [and] is there no room for improvement?" (3). The letter ends with an exhortation for "every individual . . . in deep earnestness [to] answer the question for himself" (3).

Hobart and Launceston: October 1891

From Western Australia the company travelled to Tasmania. *A Doll's House* was staged on 14 October in Hobart, and *Hedda Gabler* on 20 October. *Doll's House* was performed on 24 October in Launceston. The plays received mixed reviews in both centres but did not occasion debate through the local press.

October 1891 also saw the publication of Shaw's book, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*. It became available in Sydney bookstores in November. Many of Ibsen's plays had been published over the preceding two years, and by mid October 1891 were available in a five-volume set. Included in these volumes were *Doll's House* and *Hedda*.[90]

Brisbane: October-November 1891

The company returned to Brisbane for their final Australian appearances. *Hedda Gabler* was presented by Achurch on 6 November for the fourth and final time, and *A Doll's House* on 13 November for the fifty-third and final time. Both received poor reviews but no open conflict in the press. It would appear that the major controversies had by now been played out, and perhaps for most members of the general public they ended with Achurch's departure from Australia in mid-November.

By the end of the year, even the name "Ibsen" was appearing less often in colonial newspapers. In fact, he was considered by some in his own country to be passé, voted "'old fogeyish' and behind the times" ("London Table Talk" 6). The new "genuine genius" was considered to be Augustus Strindberg, a Swedish dramatist, whose 1888 *Miss Julie* was achieving great success (6). This play sits firmly in the New Woman genre. It is, among other things, a battle of station, between upper class Julie, and lower class Jean. Planning to elope, the couple (off-stage and only intimated) consummate their socially-taboo relationship. Their plans go awry when Julie realises she has no resources, indeed, no thoughts of her own, but only those of her parents and society. If she leaves her parents' home she will be fully reliant upon Jean. Ashamed, and fearing the consequences of living on her own terms, she chooses to die on her own terms. There is no off-stage slam as she walks out the door at play's end, but the parallels with *A Doll's House* are obvious.

The publicity that controversy brought did not harm Achurch's reputation as woman or actress. Her espousal of Ibsen and his plays was no doubt a mix of personal appreciation and hard-headed business decision. It is clear from Achurch's repertoire over the two years in Australia that many plays were tried and discarded (see Appendix 2). Some were popular, and were retained for the duration; others had brief straight runs and then were dropped. For example, *Forget-me-not* was staged forty-four times over the nine months from its introduction in February 1891, while *The House on the Marsh* was staged for three nights only. *Devil Caresfoot*, the play which was to open

the Australian tour at the Princess's Theatre on 14 September 1889, was not introduced until February 1891 and was then staged only eight times over the next two months.

While box office returns would have been a primary consideration in choice of repertoire, Achurch's preference for, and acknowledged ability for performing, strong female lead roles would have been as important. These include Mercy Merrick in *The New Magdalen* (forty-two performances) and Marguerite in *Camille* (nineteen performances). By far the drama staged most often was *Doll's House*. It had three advantages. Achurch and Charrington had a personal investment in the project. It had a strong female lead character. It attracted audiences: those who were pro-Ibsen; those who were anti-Ibsen; those who were curious; and those who expected to be titillated by something obscene.

Only playgoers in the Western colonies had not discovered for themselves the true nature of *A Doll's House* by the middle of 1890. The graph shows that numbers of opinions (positive and negative) surged as Achurch reached each major centre, but they peaked in Western Australia. In fact, as the tour progressed the incidence of references to Achurch, Ibsen, *Doll's House* and *Hedda* increased, those in 1891 far outnumbering those in 1890 or 1889. Disputes were fought fiercely through letters, with nine published in Perth papers, only equalled in Sydney a few months previously. After *Doll's House* was staged, Perth discovered that Ibsen's play, while touching on controversial topics, was not the depraved work that many had come, from hearsay, to believe.

A Doll's House was controversial. Its dramaturgy was different: no melodrama, mostly dialogue, one stage set, an open-ended finish, with a subject that had not previously been placed before the public in serious dramatic form. It was, however, also topical, and created very public discussion on issues in general discourse relating to women's role in society and their rights as individuals. It occasioned as many different opinions as people who responded. It did what Hamlet suggested acting should do: it held a mirror to their contemporary selves. A play which had been vilified even before its Australian debut and was received initially with derision and misunderstanding very quickly gained, if not popularity, then critical and public acceptance. The

graph of responses indicates an early shift towards the more "sympathetic" end of the scale; that shift may have occurred even sooner had Achurch's health issues not intervened.

The actress who brought *A Doll's House* to Australia was not in herself a controversial woman. Although an actress, and previously divorced, she was accepted as a conventionally married woman and caring mother. She, as did so many other actresses, combined a very public life with her private life, without compromising either. She was, however, willing to bring to the stage dramas that were different from the standard fare, despite some challenges from people of influence. While those dramas did not always attract either critical or general acclaim, they enabled open discussion of issues of concern to contemporary women. They also, with Achurch's personal example and consummate art as an actress, helped reinvigorate the industry in Australia. Chapter 6 examines these contributions to Australian theatre in more detail.

Chapter 6: Contribution

Janet Achurch made three significant contributions to the Australian theatre industry. First, she contributed to the viability of theatre by building audiences for drama throughout the country; in particular she helped reinvigorated the industry in Brisbane and pioneered the inclusion of Perth in the itineraries of first-rank dramatic companies. Second, she introduced the new realist direction in literature to the Australian stage through the works of Henrik Ibsen. Third, she established the stage as a forum for discussion of issues affecting contemporary women, by presenting *A Doll's House*, the play now most closely associated with the New Woman.

The late nineteenth century was a pivotal time in the history of the Australian dramatic stage, between its colonial beginnings and its near-extinction in the early twentieth century, particularly from the effects of the Great Depression in the 1920s, and the arrival of talking pictures. As society moved away from its penal origins, the country was nearing political if not psychological independence from Britain. There was no dearth of entertainment centres, from opera houses to theatres, music halls, amphitheatres, mechanics' institutes, and academies of music, all vying for the public purse. Cultural requirements were becoming more sophisticated, but melodrama and burlesque were still the popular choice. Acting as a career was no longer seen as disreputable, particularly for women. There were a multitude of women in the industry, on stage and behind it, but a large proportion of their work has gone unrecognised, and much contemporary acknowledgement has been lost over the ensuing century or more.

Achurch's work and contributions can in part be resurrected through the story of her 1889–91 tour, the itinerary and repertoire, the personal social links forged, and the public response to her as a person and actress, and to the dramas she presented. Analysis of the hundreds of press notices (reviews, opinions, articles, verse, and intertextual allusions) occasioned by her tour re-presents some of the contributions to the theatre which could be, and were, made by women during the late nineteenth century. Achurch's three major contributions are inextricably linked. Her dedication to bringing new literary works to stages both major and minor in the colonies and her enthusiasm for the

dramas of Ibsen, coupled with her personal abilities both on and off stage, combined to create an atmosphere of rejuvenation and playgoer excitement that permeated the industry.

Reinvigoration and recognition

The contention that Achurch contributed to the viability of the theatre in this country primarily relates to the quality of drama, staging, and performance, and the mundane but important matter of attracting sufficient paying audiences to keep both the Achurch-Charrington Company and the individual theatres profitable. That the first, stage success and provision of higher-quality drama, was achieved is evidenced in Chapter 4: Progression. The *Sydney Morning Herald* notes on 27 June 1891 that "Ibsen apart, Miss Achurch and Mr. Charrington have done much to elevate and refine our dramatic tastes. We need it, as even the most sanguine upholder of the modern theatre will admit" ("Garrick: Farewell" 10). The second, financial success, is more difficult to determine but can be extrapolated.

Financial viability

To determine whether the tour was a financial success or otherwise, for the company, or for the theatres at which they performed, would require an examination of Achurch's financial records and the account books of individual venues. The triumvirate considered their arrangement with the Charringtons to be financially unviable, but this was in the first few months of the tour, when the company's reputation had not yet been firmly established in Australia. It was also at a time when Achurch was not in the best of health, which she did not recover until after the birth of her baby in May 1890. From that time on, however, as the company's reputation increased, audience numbers were sustained at reasonable levels, and the financial situation must have eased greatly, especially as management was undertaken by the company after the break with the triumvirate.

Whether the on-tour contributions to the financial viability of venues continued after Achurch left Australia is not known. Theatres continued to be built, adapted, and closed, but whether any change, apart from the erection of the Theatre Royal in Perth, was related directly to Achurch's tour is unlikely. The contributions made during the tour, however, can be calculated from audience

attendance reports and prices charged. Although net figures cannot be established because expenses are not known, box office takings can be estimated from prices, in most cases indicated in advertisements.

Reports on attendances at Achurch's shows varied from "reasonable" to "crowded from floor to ceiling." The latter comment was used in relation to a matinee benefit at the Criterion in Sydney on Saturday, 4 October 1890 ("Sydney Social" 8). With an audience capacity of well over one thousand, and ticket prices set at 5, 3, and 2 shillings, and 1 shilling, minimum takings would have been quite high (£50). Again, the report on the production of *Camille* in Hobart in the *Mercury* on 12 October 1891 notes that the people turned out "in such numbers that the Theatre Royal was crowded in every part"("Theatre Royal: Achurch-Charrington" 3). Prices were 4 shillings, 3 shillings, or 2 shillings and sixpence. With seating capacity at eight hundred, takings would have been a minimum of £100.

Balancing such nights was at least one period of poorer attendance in Adelaide in December 1889 when low and moderate houses were reported. The Theatre Royal could seat up to 3,300, however, and it is difficult to know what represents a "thin" audience, as reported by the *South Australia Register* for a performance of *Led Astray* ("Theatre Royal" 6). Prices had only been advertised as "as usual," perhaps from 5 shillings to 1 shilling as in most other major centres. This was in the early days of the tour and no doubt contributed to the triumvirate's disenchantment. Overall it appears that most of the company's performances attracted reasonable houses, especially after July 1890. Reasonably good houses would translate as sufficient income for Achurch and her company, and for the individual venues.

Of the possible reasons why audience numbers were maintained at adequate levels, three predominate. First is Achurch's reputation as an actress of the first rank, initially only hearsay but confirmed not only by critical reviews and audience responses from early in the tour, but through invitations such as that from George Rignold to play Lady Macbeth to his Thane in September 1890. Second is the controversial nature of *Camille*, *Hedda Gabler*, and *A Doll's House*. Third is

the quality of the supporting cast, and Achurch's willingness to employ local expertise. Evidence for the first reason is provided in Chapter 4: Progression, and for the second, in Chapter 5: Controversy. The third is worth examining briefly, because employment is a contribution any performer is able to make to a local economy. Press reports and advertisements enable identification of many of the people and businesses working with Achurch, whether on stage, behind the scenes, or within the community. Those service providers who were recorded in reviews and advertisements during the tour, the ticket-sellers, and providers of scenery, furnishings, articles of vertu, costumes, music and the like, are listed in Appendix 3.

While scenery, properties, and costumes for *A Doll's House* and other early productions travelled from England with the company, as time progressed local providers became more important. Some are memorialised in history books, such as scene-painters John Brunton, George Gordon, and Alfred Clint, who appear in the *Companion to the Theatre in Australia* (Parsons and Chance 111; 247; 150–51). Most were never recorded, or if they were, the records are lost: the dressers and ushers, scene-changers and make-up artists, promoters and printers, and all other support personnel who work behind the scenes. Also not recorded are the providers of the necessities and luxuries of life in each community: the food and clothing merchants, providers of transport and accommodation, and the health practitioners. Each in their own way not only contributed to, but benefited from, the tour. Some took advantage of Achurch's patronage. An advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 4 July, 1891 notifies: "I have very great pleasure in recommending Mrs. Kerby to anyone who wants a really well-cut, well-fitting Bodice. She has fitted me better than anyone I have met with in Australia, and if I had remained here I should always have gone to her when wanting a dress made" ("Public Notices" 3). The notice is signed, "Janet Achurch Charrington. Garrick Theatre, June 28, 1891" (3).

The company did not only employ supernumeraries, but also performers. Appendix 3 includes the names of the sixty-three actors and forty-five actresses who are recorded as having performed with the company over the duration of the tour. Many are mentioned only in advertisements. Others were already well known in the theatrical world, or became well known. They include Herbert Flemming

(1855–1908), already popular in Australia, who travelled with the company for the entire tour before returning with them to England, where he continued to play Krogstad in *Doll's House* in London. George Leitch (1842–1907), who was to be the first in Australia to adapt for the stage Marcus Clarke's novel *His Natural Life*, worked with the company at the Bijou in Melbourne in March and April 1891, and in Sydney in May. Stirling Whyte, who appeared in many early twentieth century Australian plays, acted with the company at Her Majesty's Theatre in Sydney in September and October 1890. Seasoned actor Henry Richard Harwood (1830–1898) performed with the company in Melbourne in late 1889 and early 1890. Miss Alice May, who had formerly been with Brough and Boucicault, joined Achurch in Sydney in July 1890 and remained with her until the end of the tour. She played Ellen, Nora's servant, in *Doll's House* in Brisbane, where the theatre had, until the company's advent, fallen somewhat in the doldrums, perhaps even out of public favour since a scandal and court case.

Reinvigoration: the impact on Brisbane

Brisbane had seen little entertainment of note for some time prior to Achurch's visit in February 1891. The *Brisbane Courier* of 6 February remarks on the lack of buoyancy in the theatre "since the occurrence of the theatrical troubles at the Opera House and the New Theatre Royal" ("Week's Proceedings" 7). The article, on the eve of opening night, envisages Achurch's visit as enlivening: "there has been little of interest in the way of entertainments: but Janet Achurch has arrived in Brisbane . . ." (7). The impact of this statement is a little lessened, however, by the advice that a circus and a Wild West show were also expected (7).

A court case sheds light on at least part of the reason the theatre in Brisbane had seen little entertainment. It also explains the reference to "theatrical troubles" at the Opera House. In July 1891 the *Brisbane Courier* reports that the Opera House management were claiming £3,000 damages for loss of custom following a public altercation between an opera singer, Miss Wangenheim, and a theatre official ("District Court" 3). The ensuing negative publicity, it claimed, had cost the Opera House several large engagements, one being Achurch's, cancellation of which lost the venue an estimated £1,200 in income (3). The £3,000 loss must have accumulated over time, and with the

(unspecified) trouble at the Theatre Royal, public faith in the theatre must have diminished, along with attendance.

Achurch's arrival created sufficient new interest for the theatre to be full on opening night. It was also reported as full, or nearly so, on most other nights during the fourteen-night season. The *Illustrated Sydney News* of 14 February notes:

> Since the advent of Miss Janet Achurch and Mr. Charles Charrington at the Theatre Royal, Brisbane, on the 7th inst., patrons of the drama have awakened from the apathetic state in which they have been living for the past few months. . . . Once more the ever popular mode of entertaining one's friends by giving 'theatre parties' is taken advantage of to the fullest extent during Miss Achurch's season. ("Queensland and SA Social" 14)

Although not all plays drew large audiences, *A Doll's House* did so: many were turned away for its second night on 12 February. On the third night extra seating had to be provided for the "best house of the season" ("To-day Feb. 14" 4).

Achurch returned to Brisbane for her final Australian season. Her farewell performances drew good houses, although the audience for *Doll's House* on the final night, Friday, 13 November 1891, was not large. For Brisbane, however, Achurch's visits were significant. A summary of the year's entertainment, in the *Queenslander* on 9 January 1892, notes that the company had "two very successful seasons in Brisbane, and their visit may be classed as the most noteworthy event of the dramatic year" ("Drama and Music" 58). Other luminaries of the theatre appeared in Brisbane following Achurch's February season, including Brough and Boucicault and Myra Kemble (58). The theatre in Brisbane had clearly been invigorated, audiences won, and allegiance recovered.

Recognition: the impact on Perth

The 1892 *Dramatic Year Book and Stage Directory for the United Kingdom* includes a section entitled "Advice to English Companies about to Visit Australasia." The Advice provides suggested routes for larger and smaller companies. The routes include large and medium population centres, and some of those it considers "for the most part, unimportant, and sparsely populated"

(Cheltnam 618). Achurch's itinerary included not only all major centres, but many of the "sparsely populated" areas as well. It is, for example, known that the company was booked to perform in Benalla on 6 July 1891, but flooding caused the show to be cancelled. At that time, according to the Advice, the population of Benalla was only 1,700 (although the surrounding area, including Euroa, had a population of 7,200) (618). In Western Australia in particular, she did not remain in the two major centres (Perth and Fremantle) but took what the Advice calls "the off-country trips" (616) to places such as York, which, according to the guide, had a population at the time of only 1,000 (620). Northam is not even mentioned in the Advice so must have been classed by that publication as one of the "unimportant" centres.

In fact, the Advice, after making suggestions for a tour commencing in Melbourne, moving north and then returning south and finishing in Adelaide, states that "with the exception of West Australia . . . and the off-country trips . . . the continental part of Australasia may be said to have been done with" (Cheltnam 616). As for Western Australia, "[b]ut few companies ever venture" there, and thus no set route can be suggested, apart from landfall at Albany and a few major centres such as Perth and Fremantle. Most towns, intending tourers are advised, are small, and "therefore, theatrically hardly count" (620).

For Western Australia, its inclusion in Achurch's itinerary was the fulfilment of a long-held need and recognition of its cultural progress. The visit by "an actress possessing Miss Janet Achurch's talents," claims the *West Australian* of 14 September 1891, "could not, under any circumstances, fail to be an event of great interest. A few years ago it would almost have belonged to the region of the impossible" ("Vigilans" 4). The article continues, "if Miss Achurch's enterprise proves the success that is anticipated—financially as well as artistically—we may expect from time to time that some of the wandering constellations of the theatrical universe will make Western Australia one of their halting places" (4).

Little high class entertainment had been offered to Perth in the sixty years since its settlement. The *West Australian* of 27 August 1891 notes that there had been visits by performers such as the

Taylor-Carrington Company ("Vigilans" 4). That company specialised in Australia-themed drama and although professional, was not of the first rank. A separate item in the *West Australian* on 27 August considers that the visit by Achurch, "a theatrical 'star' of more than average magnitude . . . may certainly be described as an event in the scanty histrionic records of the colony" ("News and Notes" 4).

Several newspaper articles stress the significance of Achurch's visit as proof that the colony was moving from its days as a political, social, and cultural backwater. According to Le Flaneur, the inclusion of the colony in the itinerary of an actress "at the zenith of her fame" and "of the highest order" was evidence of its advancement (4). A *Western Mail* correspondent suggests that the visit is "amongst the good things" which followed upon the previous year's Constitutional changes ("Achurch-Charrington" 18). In 1890 Western Australia was recognised as a self-regulating colony, with John Forrest its first Premier. Visitors, according to the correspondent, could now expect "Ministerial and Mayoral courtesies" ("Achurch-Charrington" 18). Achurch was certainly afforded such courtesies. That Governor Sir William Robinson had a personal interest in theatrical matters, encouraging performances in his home, no doubt contributed to Achurch's official welcome.

Support from the press and welcome by dignitaries did not ensure theatre attendance, but houses were consistently full, sometimes more than full. By now Achurch's repertoire had refined, and only five dramas were staged in Western Australia: *Forget-me-not*, *Camille*, *The New Magdalen*, *A Doll's House*, and *Hedda Gabler*. Gordon-Clark suggests that Achurch was at her best when acting real, strong, characters, to which audience could relate, rather than melodramatic ones (263). Not only was Achurch playing to her strength in these five plays, but these were the dramas which attracted the most controversy and attention. The review of *Camille* in the *West Australian* on 16 September evidences the fulfilment of Achurch and her company's reputation for excellence:

> Indeed, it is now quite plain that if this Company of artists fails to fill the St. George's Hall for each night of their stay, it will be our poverty and not our will that must account for it. There is now no possibility of doubting that we have amongst us at the present moment

> the most noteworthy dramatic troupe which has yet been seen in the colony. ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Camille'" 3)

On 19 September the *Western Mail* pays tribute to Achurch's willingness to provide good entertainment to even so small an outpost as Western Australia. "The public of this colony has always shown . . . a very good discrimination between what is really clever in dramatic act [sic] and what is indifferent or unworthy," the writer reflects ("Achurch-Charrington" 18). "It is a great mistake to suppose that because a population is small, small talent is required to amuse it," they continue; "Miss Achurch and Mr. Charrington have complimented us by taking our intelligence and appreciative faculties on trust" (18).

The public's faith in Achurch and her faith in the West Australian community were repaid with high attendance numbers. Neither St George's Hall in Perth, nor the Town Hall in Fremantle, was large, however, and prices charged at both venues were only 5 shillings or 3 shillings. The theatres perhaps did well. The company perhaps did not; they moved several times between Perth and Fremantle, as well as around smaller centres, and travel expenses must have been high. What primarily mattered for Western Australia, however, was that where one star led, others might follow. This indeed occurred, but it took the opening up of the gold fields in 1892 before good touring companies regularly included the West in their itineraries (Dunstone 436).

Achurch's visit was instrumental in encouraging erection of Perth's first formal theatre. The *West Australian* of 27 August 1891 criticises the lack of a proper venue for her performances ("Vigilans" 4). At that time St George's Hall was the principal venue, supplemented by the Town Hall, space at Government House, and later, Cremorne Gardens, opened in 1894. The 1,200-seat Theatre Royal, Perth's first purpose-built and fully-equipped theatre, opened in April 1897. The sustained attendance at Achurch's performances, to consistent critical acclaim, indicated what could be achieved with improved facilities. On 13 February 1897, shortly before the opening of the new theatre, the same newspaper expresses the hope that the city may now become a centre for good dramatic art. In fact, the writer continues, it had been many years since the capital had been visited

by a "theatrical star of the first magnitude" when "Miss Janet Achurch … for a brief period stirred the languid intellectual pulse of the city [and] . . . that short week is a happy and prized memory" ("Vigilans" 4).

Achurch was a performer of more than usual ability and magnetism, supported by a skilled company, staging drama that intrigued. She continued to attract the playgoing public and achieved popular and critical acclaim, as well as sustained support from government and other dignitaries. Throughout her tour she maintained reasonable, if not capacity, audiences. Box office takings at each of the venues must often have been more than satisfactory, for individual venues as well as for the troupe.

Another indicator of viability is the esteem in which actresses, actors, and the industry are held. In Brisbane, Achurch helped bring about a renaissance. By visiting Perth, she acknowledged the fledgling community as meriting first-class entertainment. Wherever she travelled the company was held in high repute, which could only be to the benefit of theatre itself. Simultaneously, presentation of Ibsen's works ensured that the Australian theatre world and the public were not behindhand with innovations in dramaturgy and dramatic message.

Modern developments in realist literature and dramaturgy

The second unique contribution Achurch made was to introduce to Australia the new waves of thought in literature and directions in dramaturgy that were moving through Europe. The two Ibsen plays which Achurch staged in Australia, *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler*, are not only New Woman plays, but two of the earliest examples of realist literature. Despite early, and often acrimonious, debates over the legitimacy of Ibsen's works as "literature," by the end of the nineteenth century he was recognised as a literary dramatist of some genius, and is acknowledged as such today. In 1889, however, his dramas were simply considered different and divisive.

Achurch knew that *A Doll's House* was controversial. In England, she had gambled on that fact to pique the interest of the playgoing public: to bring to night theatre those who might only venture there for the matinees. The desired effect having been achieved, she again gambled on

bringing the play to Australia; the freedom to choose her own repertoire was a condition-precedent for her to agree to the tour. Her own interest in Ibsen was deep, and it is reasonable to presume in her a hope that the thinking public would also appreciate not only the meanings inherent in the plot, but also the new form of dramatic presentation, from setting and characterisation, to the inconclusive conclusion.

Although the usual fare included a wide diversity of offerings, low theatre and Shakespeare remained popular. *A Doll's House* was neither. Nor was it categorically comedy or tragedy: it provided neither amusement nor catharsis. "The primary function of the theatre is to amuse . . . [and] the broad, plain fact remains that it is a mistake to ask the spectators in a theatre to use their brains," asserts a review of Grundy's *Silver Shield* in September 1889 (Triumvir "Art, Music, and the Drama" 7). "The more nearly [the dramatist] can reach the feelings of the human heart, the more popular will he become," suggests Triumvir (7). In the view of the writer, neither *Silver Shield* nor *Doll's House* achieved that close connection (7).

The amusements on offer in Melbourne shortly prior to the premiere of *A Doll's House*, recorded in the *Argus* on Monday, 9 September 1889, evidences the delineation between the new type of drama and typical entertainments. The Theatre Royal had recently witnessed *Harbour Lights*, a play with sensational effects set on a battleship ("Mon. Sep. 9 1889" 5). The Opera-house offered female impersonator John F. Sheridan (5). The New Princess's had seen a season of Jennie Lee, including a farcical comedy, *Jack in the Box* (5). At the Athenæum-hall was George Snazelle in "music, song, and story" (5). St George's Hall offered "the two Mikes," as well as variety entertainment with Jolly John Nash, and Hurst the bicycle rider (5). Meanwhile, at the Victoria-hall were the Jensens with legerdemain, and at the Alexandra was Robert McWade, an American actor whose speciality was Rip Van Winkle (5). If the theatres did not offer sufficient amusement, a new curiosity was available at the waxworks museum: "a 'midget,' a very diminutive man of some 22in. in height" (5). The choices for Sydney were similar, but included some more serious drama. The *Sydney Morning Herald* of 12 September 1889 reports that Nellie Stewart had opened at the Theatre

Royal in the comic opera *Dorothy*, Grundy's *Silver Shield* was on at the Criterion, and George Rignold was staging *Julius Caesar* at Her Majesty's ("Theatrical" 11).

English writer Richard Twopeny had suggested in 1883 in *Town Life in Australia* that Melbourne was "decidedly the theatrical centre of Australia" (qtd. in Carroll 62). Not only were there twice as many theatres as in Sydney, its stock companies better, and most new pieces presented there first, but its audiences were "more appreciative and critical" (qtd. in 62). From the *Argus* article it would seem that when Achurch arrived six years later, Sydney audiences had more access to high theatre than Melbourne. Perhaps that is one reason why *Doll's House* was accepted more readily there than at its debuts in Melbourne and Adelaide.

There are two possible reasons why Achurch did not commence her tour in Sydney. The first is that she was engaged with Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove, who owned and operated the New Princess's in Melbourne. The second is that a workable itinerary had already been established for visiting companies, with Melbourne as the recommended point of commencement. The *Year Book*'s "Advice" suggests that any theatrical tour of Australia "can only start" from Sydney, Adelaide, or Melbourne, but that Melbourne was preferable, being central (Cheltnam 614). Also having a bearing may have been Twopeny's assertion that "if a piece succeeds in Melbourne, its success everywhere else is assured" (qtd. in Carroll 62). Introducing *Doll's House* to Australia via Melbourne was no doubt a calculated move by the company and its agents.

A Doll's House was selected by Achurch for the opening number in Australia not only because of her success in the role of Nora in London, but because it was different. Its plot discusses a moral problem, and its format is the antithesis of familiar offerings: melodrama, spectacle, mechanical artifice, rhetoric, exaggeration, obvious heroes and heroines, patent comedy or tragedy, and satisfactory endings. *Doll's House* consists of more dialogue than action, in a static setting, with characters closer to the every-day than the audience had experienced, and an ending which is neither dénouement nor definite.

A Doll's House indicated a change in the nature of contemporary drama. A review of London's dramatic year from September 1888 to August 1889, reproduced in the *Brisbane Courier* on 14 October 1889, notes: "The critics say that a great change in the character of our plays appears . . . to be imminent, and that we are entering upon a new phase of dramatic literature. . . . The plays of Ibsen . . . will probably have some effect upon the drama" ("Dramatic Gossip" 6). Australian critics also recognised the different nature of *Doll's House*: a writer for the *Advertiser* of 9 December 1889 considers it "very eccentric in its style, its dialogue, and its moral" ("Theatre Royal" 5). Ibsen is now accepted as a key figure in early realist drama, one of the first to reject the concept of "the well-made play . . . with its mechanical artifices, . . . slick plotting, and . . . exaggerated theatricalism" (Cuddon 729).

By mid 1891, although opinion remained polarised, London's critics and playgoers, and the reading public, had had the opportunity to become accustomed to, if not to appreciate, Ibsen's style. That city had not only had a three week season of *Doll's House*, but also had had the opportunity to read or attend other Ibsen plays: *Pillars of Society, Hedda Gabler, Ghosts, The Lady from the Sea*, and *Rosmersholm*. An Ibsen society was under consideration. The new form of dramaturgy was gaining acceptance, and in some quarters, welcome.

In particular, there was increasing approval for the new style of characterisation. A correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 20 June 1891, reporting on the success of *Hedda Gabler* in London, suggests that Ibsen had "shown the theatre-going public that they are thoroughly tired of the stock character of the stage" ("English Gossip" 4). In the correspondent's opinion, there were few who did not recognise the "equally well-known and tiresome" characters of melodrama: "the hero with copybook sentiments, the heroine who sobs perpetually, the genteel villain in patent leather boots, and the comic villain with a red nose and too short trousers" (4). "Ibsen's characters may be bores . . . but they are at least new bores," the correspondent contends (4). The *Bathurst Free Press* a few days later records dramatist Henry Jones's opinion that because of Ibsen, "all the sawdust is running out of our favorite [sic] dolls" ("Vice-Regal Patronage" 2).

By this time in Australia, too, the new dramaturgy and more realistic characters were receiving recognition and some approval. *A Doll's House* is a play, suggests one commentator in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 8 June 1891, where the playwright "does away . . . with that gauze and limelight of conventionality on the stage which by prescriptive custom has come to lend a stereotyped unreality to most of the pseudo-realism of theatrical performance" ("Women's College" 3). A review of *Doll's House* in the *West Australian* on 17 September 1891 considers that "Ibsen has dared to break away from traditions which, at least to some of us, have become intolerably weary" ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Doll'" 5). "He gives us none of the recognised phantoms that figure so largely in the conventional play of to-day," suggests the reviewer; "it is a relief for once in a way to escape from these well-worn creations, and to be introduced to men and women of a more human type than the stilted creatures that too often walk the boards" (5). By now other playwrights were writing in the new form. Ibsen's works had been quoted, plagiarised, and intertextualised. While still hotly debated, they were entering general literature.

They were also entering the Australian cultural conscious. *Doll's House* clearly was sufficiently familiar to the general public for a judge to allude to its contents and presume general comprehension. In a court case in Melbourne in August 1891, a deceased gentleman's family was contesting his most recent Will, which was more financially favourable to his female housekeeper than to his kin. They were claiming undue influence upon the deceased by the housekeeper. On 3 August, the *Argus* notes that the judge, Dr Madden, expressed concern at the significant female presence in the large audiences, deeming the interest of the "feminine spectators" as "justifying some of Ibsen's eccentric notions" ("Mon. Aug. 3 1891" 5). "Women were the creatures of impulse above all things, as Ibsen had graphically shown in his 'Doll's House'," Dr Madden is reported as saying during his summation (5).

By the time Achurch's tour was nearing its close, realist drama was achieving recognition as a distinct art form. A review of *The New Magdalen* in the *Western Mail* on 26 September 1891 illustrates this:

> No two plays represent more emphatically the two opposite poles of modern dramatic art. In "A Doll's House" we have a very bold attempt to place men and women on the stage as they are, their good qualities not slurred over, but neither their imperfections concealed. "The New Magdalen" on the contrary is a play . . . written on essentially conventional lines. We are given an excellent portrayal of the clergyman—of fiction. In Mercy Merrick we also are presented with a powerfully drawn heroine—but also of fiction. Both characters are as we would wish them to be. ("Achurch-Charrington: 'Magdalen'" 25)

Ibsen's contribution to the changing face of dramatic art and his use of the play to disseminate modern thinking were accepted by the turn of the twentieth century. "Every fresh play by Ibsen, in spite of the fact that his dialogue does not sparkle in its English dress, enriches our language with some new phrases or ideas," opines a writer in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 23 February 1895 ("Musical and Dramatic" 4). "Ibsen is listened to already where he was formerly only laughed at, and quotations from him are upon many lips," suggests an article in the *Advertiser* on 27 September 1900; "his influence upon the English serious drama is none the less for being little acknowledged" ("Influence" 4). The *Sydney Morning Herald* of 13 October 1900 considers that "Henrik Ibsen is very properly described . . . as the originator of the analytical modern drama" ("Musical and Dramatic" 4). That opinion is still accepted today, with Ibsen considered as one of the leaders of the "campaign for modern, radical and realistic literatures" (Hemmer 69).

I would argue that Achurch's early presentation of Ibsen's works was instrumental in Australia's understanding of the new directions in dramatic conceptualisation. One critic in the *West Australian* of 14 September 1891 credits her with bringing the new ways of thinking to the colonies: "the visit of Miss Achurch is eventful for something more than her own fame as an actress. As a recognised exponent of Ibsen's plays she directs our attention to that duel which the old and new school of artistic ethics are fighting out both in literature and on the stage" ("Vigilans" 4). Achurch's belief in Ibsen's plays, and her decision—one could say stubborn determination—to

introduce them to the Australian stage brought this country into the new streams of literature almost simultaneously with England, and in advance of the United States. *A Doll's House* in the form presented in Australia in September 1889 was not staged in America until 21 December 1889, by which time it had had fifteen performances in Australia: twelve in Melbourne and three in Adelaide. *Hedda Gabler* debuted in London on 20 April 1891 (by Elizabeth Robins) and in Australia on 25 August 1891 (by Achurch). The United States did not have the opportunity to see the play until it was presented at the Fifth Avenue Theatre in New York on 30 March, 1898. While neither *Doll's House* nor *Hedda* ever achieved popularity they did introduce to Australia a new form of dramatic presentation.

Achurch's contribution to the viability of individual Australian theatres was significant but not necessarily permanent. The improvements in theatre attendance that she achieved during her time in Brisbane and Perth were evident, but whether they continued after her departure is not easily ascertained. The influence of her second great contribution to Australian theatre, introducing new directions in literature, continues today. Her third unique contribution had ramifications far beyond the world of theatre. Women's role in society in general was a matter of wide discourse; bringing the debate to the stage was a major step towards enabling deeper consideration of the issues of concern to women.

The stage as a forum for discussion of women's issues

No-one before Achurch had brought to the Australian stage drama that so directly alluded to a contemporary social situation. *A Doll's House* placed before the public a scenario that was becoming familiar to some segments of the community. If not necessarily wishing to leave their husbands and children to find their own place in society, as did Nora, many women were questioning the tradition and convention that debarred them from seeking an equal relationship with men within and beyond the sphere of home and family. Nora was the prototype of female characters who brought that questioning into the light of the stage. By bringing *A Doll's House* to Australia, by her belief in the play, and by subsuming herself in the character, to many, Achurch *was* Nora, both

on and off the stage. She opened the way for others to bring social issues out from behind the curtains.

The plot of *A Doll's House* examines many of the dichotomies of contemporary marriage, issues that are often still in contention today. Included are the role of the sexes in marriage and parenthood, and questions of acceptable male/masculine and female/feminine behaviour. Ibsen dramatised, through these and other themes, some of the prevailing social attitudes. Bjørn Hemmer suggests that in Ibsen's work, "the power structure within the walls of the domestic home reflects the hierarchical power structures which prevail in the wider world" (71). According to Hemmer, Ibsen practised "the kind of literary realism" that focussed on "social problems, on critical perspective and contemporaneity" (71). In concentrating on a contemporary situation in which "a latent crisis suddenly becomes visible," Ibsen "was able to embody contemporary social problems through the medium of an individual's destiny" (71). In *A Doll's House*, that individual was Nora and, to a no less important extent, Torvald.

One of the social issues that Nora embodies is the question of female identity and role. This is encapsulated in the closing scenes when she queries whether, as society claims, a woman's true calling is wifehood and motherhood, or whether it is to be a human being first and foremost. During the course of the play Nora fulfils her roles as a married, middle-class homemaker and parent. She is the authoritative employer; the happy shopper; the tender mother; and the thoughtful friend. Her role as a wife is multifaceted: sexual, coquettish, entertaining. She has socially-acceptable skills in music and dance. Behind all, however, is the subversive, 'other' Nora: the secret schemer, dissembler, and wage-earner.

As the play progresses, the control which Torvald appears to exercise over Nora slips to reveal the façade that it is. The marriage is not as happy, nor is Nora as easily manipulated as Torvald believes. The subversive woman begins to emerge for Torvald when Nora's piano playing changes from disciplined to unrestrained. It takes flight with the tarantella, learnt under his tutelage in private, but performed with abandon in public. The final rejection of husbandly authority comes

with Nora's departure, leaving Torvald bewildered. If Nora is the embodiment of the quest for recognition and individuality stirring in the female psyche, then Torvald is the embodiment of the male seeking to maintain control in a world he is finding ever more confusing. He too is caught in the trap of tradition and convention. Nora recognises this: "There must be perfect freedom on both sides" (*Doll* 3.1).

The tragedy of the play arises from the tension between what society expects and what the individual needs. Shaw's preface to his 1934 edition of *Still After the Doll's House* begins, "I hope I need not apologize for assuming that the readers of this story are familiar with Ibsen's epoch-making play A Doll's House, which struck London in the year 1889 and gave Victorian domestic morality its death-blow" ("Still After" 126). "Victorian domestic morality" was not destroyed, but it was shaken. In *A Doll's House*, Ibsen shows the prevailing morality as a construct built on insecure foundations.

A Doll's House was different in its representation of the female role. The women of nineteenth-century melodrama are brave but delicate, needing heroic rescue. Shakespearean women can be strong minded and fiery, but ultimately are subservient to the male. Erring women in serious drama usually repent, gaining redemption through death, often by suicide. For a woman to be the central character, taking control of her own life, rejecting the hero, even rejecting redemptive self-immolation, was unheard of. For some, a play suggesting that marriage and motherhood were not sacrosanct was tantamount to blasphemy. That women could perform their "proper" wifely role while simultaneously acting clandestinely, albeit not to undermine her marriage but to sustain it, was either a startling revelation, a confirmation of the real situation of many women, an unwomanly and unnatural misrepresentation, or an unforgivable display of "dirty linen."

One of the most significant responses related to a dual dislocation of identity. So hotly debated was the character of Nora that she was spoken of, like many other literary characters of the time, as if she were real. So well did Achurch depict her that the actress and the character became almost inextricably conflated. "Miss Janet Achurch . . . has suddenly leapt into Ibsenian fame, and is

better known as Ibsen's heroine than as Mrs. Charrington," notes Pistachio in the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 17 October 1889, only a month after the play's Australian premiere (29). When Pistachio then comments that "Melbourne has followed the London lead . . . and we [in Sydney] are impatiently waiting the advent of play and heroine that we may form our own opinion of the eccentric little lady who so completely ignores conventional fetters," it is difficult to know of whom Pistachio speaks: Achurch, or Nora (29).

Reifying Nora

Both the premise of the play and the character were inspired by Ibsen's friend, Laura Kieler.[91] When her husband, Victor, contracted tuberculosis, Laura secretly borrowed funds to take him on a life-saving journey, then found herself unable to repay the debt (Meyer 461–62). Although Ibsen based *A Doll's House* on Laura's situation, the play was fiction, and the ending was Ibsen's own. Despite this, the plot and character were discussed as if they were not simply a creation of a playwright's imagination. Paradoxically, while the character was seen as real, her actions were seen as unnatural. Much of the debate centres on Nora rejecting Torvald, and whether this was right and natural womanly behaviour. "Her conduct is at any rate sufficiently startling to give colour to the charge of being unnatural," considers the *Argus* shortly after the arrival of *A Doll's House* in Melbourne ("Sat. Sep. 21 1889" 9). "If she be wise, and at the same time womanly," the article concludes, "she will, we think, not stay away from her husband and children too long, but after a decent interval will softly open the door again and re-take her proper place in the household" (9). Although opinions to the contrary intensified, this point of view did not entirely disappear over the ensuing months. A correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 5 August 1890 considers Nora to be a "weak woman—who has never learned what stern imperative duty is, or how to obey it" (Hartley 7).

Perhaps the reason for Nora's reification can be found in a review of *A Doll's House* in the *Brisbane Courier* of 11 February 1891. The review ends: "Here, then, in the last few moments of his play, Ibsen propounds his startling doctrine, which opens up a social question of vast importance

and magnitude" ("Doll's House" 5). The social question at issue was who was right, society or Nora; whether a woman's first duty is to others, or to herself. The dramatic presentation of what was in general discourse under the umbrella term "the marriage question" gave physical form to what had been an intellectual concept, and helped reify the issue for many. Nora, as the dramatic representation of the issue, was also made real.

Conflation of identities

"'Miss Achurch *is* Nora,'" claims a writer for the New Zealand *Evening Star* in an item reproduced in the *Illustrated Sydney News* on 31 January 1891 (qtd. in "Sydney Social" 12). "'It is simply impossible to believe for a single moment that she is not Nora—that she is acting a part'," they continue (qtd. in 12). Identification of Achurch with Nora began prior to her departure from England. It is not beyond possibility that it originated with Ibsen, who sent Achurch a photograph of himself shortly after the London premiere of *A Doll's House*. It was inscribed, "For Nora" (Hart "Ibsen: Interpreters" 13). Shaw frequently referred to Achurch as Nora; he ends his 30 March 1891 letter to Charrington by asking him to "give my compliments to the greater and the lesser Nora" (Shaw "Charrington" 290).[92]

In Australia, Achurch's acting abilities contributed to the merging of identities. A review reported in the *Launceston Examiner* of 26 July 1890 exemplifies the many references in that vein. The critic is noted as saying: "You forget she is acting. She is Norah [sic] Helmer all the time. It is a delight to see such acting and a privilege to praise it" (qtd. by Touchstone 2). "Miss Achurch . . . identifies herself so completely with the character," considers the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 8 June 1891, ". . . that one forgets the clever actress for the moment in the character of the Scandinavian wife" ("Women's College" 3).

By the time Achurch reached Brisbane, the conflation was complete, aided to a great extent by her own personality and likeability. To become known as Nora on stage is understandable, because at that time she was the only actress in Australia undertaking the role. To be identified with Nora in her private life, and in terms of cordiality, demonstrates that *A Doll's House*, and Nora's behaviour,

were becoming more accepted. Such must have been so for "La Quenouille," of the *Brisbane Courier*, who interviewed the Charringtons in Brisbane in February 1891.[93] The resulting article is titled "'Nora' at Home" (La Quenouille 5). Achurch made an extremely favourable impression upon her interviewer. La Quenouille comments that whereas meeting an artist in private life often destroys the illusions created by their stage persona, with Achurch words and pictures had not done justice to her physical appearance or to her charm and wit (5). La Quenouille variously refers to Achurch as "Mrs. Charrington," "Miss Achurch," and "'Nora'" (5). For this interviewer at least, Achurch as wife, as actress, and as character, had merged.

Achurch had brought to the Australian stage a drama that, while fictitious, presented a contemporary situation. From its first appearance in Melbourne to its final night in Brisbane, the play's premise and characterisation created dissension and often polarised discussion. Over time, it became somewhat normalised. It is difficult to gauge what this meant for Australian society, its women in particular. It is also difficult to know whether Achurch, by bringing *A Doll's House* to the colonies, helped change any part of the social situation. I suggest that she did, by bringing Ibsen's plays to the attention of the public, stimulating discussion, and hence contributing to change. Over the next decade or so the issues which generated New Woman writings, such as women's right to participate in politics, and to control their own financial, legal, and matrimonial matters, had progressed sufficiently to ring the death knell of the genre itself.

As early as 1890, the contributions made by Ibsen (and, by extension, Achurch) had been recognised: "Ibsen has made some of the most notable contributions of the day to discussion of woman's position in society and woman's future," suggests Q in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 26 July (4). That society responded to Ibsen's plays and the ensuing debate by more than "discussion" can be deduced from a verse which appeared in three major Australian newspapers: the *Argus*, the *Morning Bulletin*, and the *South Australian Register*, between June and October 1891, reproduced from London's *St. James's Gazette*. In five stanzas and a chorus, and referring to several of Ibsen's works, "The Ibsen Girl" claims to be "an old old tale of how a man with but few wits to spare / Can

found a school, and play the fool, and capture women fair" ("Ibsen Girl" 13). The fourth stanza is as follows:

> She gabbles about "Gabler" and the joys of suicide,
>
> And points out with emotion how the headstrong "Hedda" died;
>
> She claims to be a "Nora," too, if only she may floor
>
> A husband's right, and say Good-night, and bang the outer door! (13)

It is reasonable to suggest that both the sentiments expressed in the song and the social changes which prompted the verses existed in Australia as well as in England. If women in England were taking Nora and Hedda as their exemplars, as intimated in the phrase "capture women fair," then it is likely that women in Australia were doing so as well. That *A Doll's House* had a definitive or direct effect on women's role in society in this country is impossible to state categorically. It is, however, logical to extrapolate that it did so. At a minimum it provided an opportunity for debate, both in private and in the media of the time.

A Doll's House and *Hedda Gabler* were revived by Nance O'Neil in 1900 and 1905, and *Rosmersholm* was staged in 1911. All three continue to be performed.[94] Although other plays of the New Woman genre were published and staged over the next few decades in the United Kingdom and America, if any were produced in Australia the records have been obscured. Achurch's ground-breaking tour did not see an immediate influx of similar drama, and the *Doll's House* phenomenon was not repeated. It could be said, however, that it did not need to be. The new movement in literary thinking had already broken into the Australian scene, laying the foundations of modern dramatic direction, and bringing Australia into the forefront of contemporary literary conceptualisation.

Achurch is not unique in contributing to the theatre in Australia. She is one of thousands of women and men who did so. She did, however, make several contributions that no-one else did, and that perhaps no-one else could have done. When she arrived in Australia Achurch was reaching the pinnacle of her career. She had made a name for herself in England and, importantly, in London, at that time the centre of the Empire's dramatic world. With her husband, she brought to the Australian

stage a play by a playwright eminent then and now, a playwright at the height of his dramatic powers. This play was the first of its kind: a drama more realistic in its portrayal of a contemporary social problem, and a situation until then not brought so clearly into the limelight.

It has been said about such plays that they are particular to a time and place, losing their relevance as time and society changes. *A Doll's House* was first staged in Australia at a time when women and society in general were questioning the roles and responsibilities of the sexes, a time when feminism was in its infancy, and legal, political, and social equality of the sexes was a hotly debated topic. Although the setting of *Doll's House* may now be out-dated, many of the questions raised about marriage, parenthood, and the role of men and women are still relevant today, and the play remains in the canon where many others have vanished.

The audiences who arrived in large numbers to watch *A Doll's House*, filling seats, adding to coffers, and witnessing concepts not previously so dramatically presented would not have realised that they were making history. They were watching a play the type of which had not been seen before in Australia, constructed in a way that would help change the direction of dramatic construction and performance. They were the first in the southern hemisphere to see a play that provoked discussion on women's issues, changing the way that those issues were perceived. By introducing *Doll's House* at the height of its currency and controversy, Achurch showed that the country, and its theatre, was vibrant and modern. By the time she and her company left on 14 November, 1891 Australian theatre was much closer to finding its own identity.

Chapter 7: Epilogue

November 1891, and the meta-drama of Achurch's tour of the Antipodes was over. Achurch left England as her career was reaching its peak. She cemented her reputation while in Australia. She returned to the stage in England but her health had suffered from the challenges of childbirth. Illness and morphine addiction would lead to a rapid decline in her performance capability, and to an early death. Reports of her activities filtered through to Australia for some years after she left the country, but as time passed references to her in the local press gradually disappeared.

Achurch's formative years on the stage pre-tour gave her the grounding in acting and stage craft that was brought to fruition during her two years in Australia. The tour was arguably the zenith of her career. This chapter tells her story post-tour, and commemorates her accomplishments for the theatre in Australia on-tour. Historical information has been gleaned from various sources, including works by Ince, Meyer, and Whitebrook, and is provided without reference, except where direct quotations are made.

The company left Brisbane on 14 November 1891 for the return voyage to London. The first theatre stop was in Calcutta, and despite a reportedly good six-week season which opened on Boxing Day 1891, the company left the city under a cloud. Charrington was under warrant for arrest for "criminal trespass, intimidation, and insult" ("Eng. Dram. Notes" 6).[95] He was to appear in court, or give recognisances for one thousand rupees (6). It is unlikely that this fine was paid, as the Charringtons' financial situation over the next few years was not good.

From Calcutta the company travelled to Cairo, where Achurch was, according to Brenda Clarke, the first English actress to appear at the Khedivial Opera House (3). The season was brought to a halt when Achurch almost died during the still-birth of her second child. Charrington returned to London by an overland route, arriving on 28 March 1892; Achurch travelled more slowly by boat to recover from her incapacitation. Their intention on return was to turn the Avenue Theatre into a place of high-class entertainment, opening with *A Doll's House*.

Restaging *A Doll's House* in London was a risk. Nearly three years had passed since the successful run in June 1889, and there was still considerable hostility towards the play, even though Elizabeth Robins and Marion Lea had staged *Hedda Gabler* in the intervening years. According to Jo Robinson, that play had been successful enough for the original run of five afternoons to be extended for a further five afternoons, and then several evening performances, throughout May 1891 (160). Some felt that restaging *Doll's House*, especially at the "unlucky Avenue," would be risky, according to the *Argus* on 20 May 1892 ("News and Notes" 4). Paradoxically, according to the article, the play was no longer outré; in fact, it was considered as possibly too tame for the "putty-faced, long-haired youths who wallowed in all the nastiest portions of the new realist's gospel" (4).

Despite the challenges, *A Doll's House* re-opened at the Avenue on 19 April 1892. Press reports are conflicting but the consensus was that Achurch was not performing well. The opinion of the *Daily Telegraph* (reproduced in the *West Australian* on 26 May) was that she had become too accustomed to playing to "rough audiences": "to ugliness of subject has been added vulgarity of method" (qtd. in "Achurch London: Doll: Criticisms" 2). Conversely, the *Public Opinion* view is that Achurch's performance had "lost little of its original charms": "possibly her rendering has become somewhat more emphatic, but her Nora Helmer still remains a masterpiece of realistic art" (qtd. in 2).

Achurch was struggling to maintain her high standards of performance. Shaw informs her in a long letter that in her travels "Nora's" voice had become unpleasant, although "much more powerful" (Shaw "To Janet Achurch" 338). "My lacerated heart accuses you of first shewing [sic] that you could, if you pleased, make every tone in your voice a caress or an inspiration, and then *squawking*—positively squawking," he remonstrates (338, emphasis in original). Archer, too, makes reference to the problems with her voice. He is quoted in the *Inquirer and Commercial* on 20 July 1892 as considering that Achurch had three "besetting sins" in her delivery: that she runs sentences together, with no light and shade; she intones rather than converses but with "arbitrary crescendos and diminuendos, accelerandos and rallentados"; and her emotional transports lack measure, sometimes hovering "on the verge of the grotesque, and of the ludicrous" (qtd. in Le Flaneur 5). The season of *A*

Doll's House was not a success, but Achurch re-established herself as a leading interpreter of Ibsen, and, as time progressed, of Shaw.

Achurch's need for morphine, prescribed for her in Sydney and again in Cairo, was becoming an addiction. It was also becoming a problem. Late in 1892 when the Charringtons took *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* to Brighton, they had both taken so much morphine that Archer, who had accompanied them, had to walk them around the stage to keep them awake. Shaw later accused Charrington of being complicit in Achurch's career demise because of her addiction to morphine and alcohol. Charrington had problems of his own: by 1893 he had become familiar to lending establishments and pawnbrokers, and was also importuning his friends for funds. By early 1895, although she continued to maintain a heavy work schedule, Achurch's addictions were increasingly evident, with "perpetual restlessness, slovenly dress, heavy smoking, [and a] tendency to drunkenness" (Whitebrook 177).

On 10 April 1894, Charrington published an article in the *New Review* (pages 488 to 498) entitled "A Confession of Their Crimes by Janet Achurch and Charles Charrington from the Cell of Inaction to Which They Were Condemned in the Latter Half of the Year of Grace, 1893" (Ince "Pioneer" n.pag.). The six "offences" were "The Crime of": "Being Didactic"; "Not Being Didactic"; "Being Literary"; "Being Serious"; "Being in a Hurry" (in two parts: "We had no Plays" and "We had no Money"); and "Being Ourselves" (qtd. in Ince "Pioneer" n.pag.).

In 1895 Achurch set sail for a tour of America. Shaw had secured staging rights to his new play *Candida* (1894). He wrote to his friend Richard Mansfield in New York in February 1895, informing him that he had written the play for Achurch, and asking Mansfield to pay Achurch's fare to America to play the lead role of Candida (Shaw "To Richard Mansfield" 486).[96] Mansfield did so, but the tour was perhaps ill-fated from the start, when Charrington had a disagreement with Mansfield over plans for the engagement. Charrington remained in England, touring and lecturing for the Fabian Society. Achurch sailed for New York on 16 March 1895.

There is some doubt as to whether Achurch performed in *A Doll's House* in America, or performed at all. According to the *Companion to the Theatre in Australia*, she appeared in *Doll's House* in New York (Fotheringham and Beith 16). According to other sources the projected tour did not even begin. There are conflicting accounts of the reasons. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 26 December 1896, Achurch refused to tour when she was not given star billing, quarrelled with Mansfield, and returned to London ("Musical and Dramatic" 5). According to Whitebrook, when she arrived in New York, "Mansfield inhaled her powerful aroma of stale tobacco and alcohol," decided he would neither produce *Candida* nor work with Achurch, and "put [her] on a ship home" (181).

In late 1896 Achurch took on the role of Rita in Ibsen's *Little Eyolf*, despite again being pregnant. The play opened at the Avenue on 23 November. Shaw notes that in this part she regained "all her old authority over her audience" with her "superfluity of power and the vehemence of intelligence" (*Dramatic Criticism* 197 qtd. in Salmon n.pag.). Her pregnancy is not mentioned again and it is probable that it did not go to full term. By early 1897 she had returned to the stage, when *A Doll's House* was revived at the Globe in London. The middle part of 1897 was spent touring the provinces under the auspices of the Independent Theatre. She appeared in *Candida* on 30 July in Aberdeen, and in *Doll's House* on 25 October at the Theatre Royal in Cambridge.

Achurch's drinking was by now public and extreme. Shaw chastises her in a letter dated 9 December 1897: "When you came in tonight you were Janet, desirable and adorable. After dinner you were a rowdy, unpresentable wretch. Finally you were inarticulate" (Shaw "To Janet Achurch" 828). Shaw continues, "You talk of women *suffering* . . ." and cites his own unhappy childhood with a dissolute father as being real suffering (828, emphasis in original).

Little is recorded about Achurch's movements during 1898 and 1899. Charrington performed in Manchester, the city where Achurch spent much of her early acting life, in March 1898, at the Avenue Theatre in London in June that year, in Hastings in July, and at the Royalty in November. As Achurch and Charrington usually worked together, it is reasonable to presume that Achurch also performed on

these occasions. Their penury continued throughout this period and they borrowed from whomever they could. Shaw in particular was importuned by Charrington, who wished to set up his own municipal theatre.

In May 1900, Achurch reprised her role as Nora at New Cross Theatre in London. She also performed at the Strand Theatre with the Stage Society that year as Lady Cecily Wayneflete in Shaw's *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1899).[97] Most of the next few years were spent in Manchester. In 1901, Achurch performed in Euripedes' *Andromache* at the Royalty. She was Ellida Wangel in Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea* at the Royalty, and performed in *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* at Queen's Theatre in Manchester during 1902. She performed in the latter two plays again in 1903, and also appeared as Queen Katharine in *King Henry VIII* at Queen's.

In 1903, too, Achurch appeared as Leila Daintree in the only performance of her own play, *Mrs. Daintree's Daughter*. In 1898 Shaw published *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, a dramatised version of Guy de Maupassant's novel *Yvette*. He encouraged Achurch to write her own version, "on its original romantic lines" (qtd. in Laurence 404). The result was *Mrs. Daintree's Daughter* (1897– 98). While Shaw's version remains in the canon, Achurch's does not. During an interview with Achurch in Brisbane in February 1891, La Quenouille suggested to her that "a real Australian drama" had not yet been produced, and discussed with her the possibilities of dramatising the poem "Convict Once" (La Quenouille 5).[98] There is no record of Achurch having done so. It is likely that *Mrs. Daintree's Daughter* is the only play Achurch wrote.

In December 1904 Achurch and Charrington were the guests at the Stockport Garrick Society Reception and Dinner at the Warren Bulkeley Arms Hotel, in recognition of Charrington's continuing encouragement of repertory groups to add Ibsen and Shaw to their stock repertoires. In November 1907 Achurch performed the role of Mrs Alving in *Ghosts*, staged by the Manchester Playgoers at the Athenæum Hall. Despite ongoing health problems, she is reported as having "acted with distinction" (Fotheringham and Beith 16). During that year she also performed as Queen Elizabeth in *Essex* at Queen's Theatre in Manchester. In 1911 she appeared in *A Doll's House* once more; this time,

however, it was as Mrs Linden, and not as the character she had made her own: Nora. Up until then, Achurch had performed the role of Nora on at least twenty-nine occasions in England, as well as an unknown number of performances in New Zealand, and fifty-three in Australia.

A closer examination of these statistics would perhaps deepen the understanding of theatre in Australia in this pivotal period, as well as further elucidate the role women played in its development. An examination of Achurch's tour of New Zealand would widen the scope of this understanding to cover the whole of the Antipodes, as well as add to New Zealand's historical records. An intriguing area for future research is the story that newspapers do not reveal: those that lie in the archives of such seminal figures as J.C. Williamson, and the records of historical societies; museums; non-digitised and perhaps now non-operational newspapers; and theatres, especially in the smaller, "off-country" centres on the Achurch-Charrington Company's route.

During her time in Australia, Achurch had represented Nora, and at least twenty-three other female protagonists, in centres large and small. Her growing reputation for fine acting attracted audiences, and helped revitalise the industry. For Brisbane and Perth in particular, this contribution was a lasting one. For Brisbane, it meant reinvigoration of interest in attending theatre. For Perth, it was confirmation of their entitlement to be included in the itineraries of top-ranking dramatic companies, and the centre's need and readiness for a dedicated home for theatre. Achurch's personal appeal was not the only drawcard, however: it was also the out-of-the-ordinary plays that she presented.

Controversial drama such as *Camille* audiences already knew. In Ibsen's *A Doll's House* and *Hedda Gabler* they encountered a type of drama new, and for some, alien: the dramaturgy, plots, characters, and endings were different from the known fare. Although *Hedda* was staged on only four occasions, insufficient to gauge any changing trends in reception, there was an early positive shift in responses to *A Doll's House*. By presenting both plays soon after their English debuts in London, Achurch introduced to the Australian stage the new directions in literature, and her second

contribution to theatre in this country ensured that Australia was in the forefront of dramatic innovation.

Nor was Australia backward on discussion of women's issues. Although the terms had not yet entered the vernacular, the concepts of the "woman question" and the "New Woman" were not unfamiliar to the country. Through Achurch, and Ibsen's *A Doll's House*—and, to a lesser extent, *Hedda Gabler*—discussion of issues of concern to society in general, and women in particular, was brought onto the public stage. This third contribution still reverberates in the twenty-first century.

The accolades afforded Achurch during her time in Australia in presenting her talents on stages large and small, and to audiences urban and frontier, were only equalled by the ever-increasing anticipation of her arrival by venues along the touring route. Her wide repertoire, of pieces comic and serious, familiar and alien, time-honoured and ground-breaking, not only displayed the talents of this remarkable actress, but demonstrated the abilities of women on stage to engage with audience demands, to break boundaries, and to force people to think. Achurch added a rich texture to theatre around Australia, while opening up new dimensions of dramatic representation.

There was a personal price to pay, however. By the time she returned to England, the constant travel, the challenges of performing, and the demands of maternity had already taken their toll. Although she continued to perform for another twenty-one years after her Australian tour, her infirmity and addiction increased until she was no longer able to sustain her appearances. In 1913 she reprised her 1911 role in Norwegian dramatist Wiers-Jenssen's *The Witch*, announcing her retirement when the play closed. The following year, 1914, her only child Nora died. On 11 September 1916, Achurch died of morphine poisoning at 4 Devonshire Terrace, Ventnor, on the Isle of Wight. She is buried at the Ventnor cemetery but no memorial marks her grave.

Janet Achurch is only one of thousands of women and men of the stage who have no memorial. Perhaps she is no more deserving of a monument than any other. Her life, however, while ultimately tragic is also worth celebrating and remembering, particularly her time in Australia. Her life experiences were like those of many other women of her time: she had to battle to enter her chosen

profession; she experienced the tribulations and joys of marriage and motherhood; and she suffered the difficulties and losses of childbirth and the ills of addiction consequent upon it. Her contributions, achieved through dedication and hard work, live on. She was a New Woman who brought the new drama and the new acting to a new country. Friend of dramatists, theatre critics, and others in the forefront of literary development, and advancer of the cause of women: Janet Achurch, the woman who did.

Notes

[1] *Rosmersholm* was first staged in Australia at McMahon's Theatre, St Patrick's Hall, Melbourne, on 4 December 1911.

[2] The original *Australian* was published between 1824 and 1848. The current *Australian* was first published by News Limited in 1964.

[3] Sources (of historical data) not listed under "Works Cited" are as follows:

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[4] For the purposes of this thesis, in preference to the more gender-neutral term "actor" I refer to "actress," adhering to the feminine noun as a mark of differentiation and respect. The term is also in historical context with the period under discussion.

[5] Aiming to place the literary canon of about two hundred British novels within its wider context, Moretti counted and graphed identifiable novels published from about 1740 to just after 1900. He found several distinct phases, with forty-four genres appearing in groups, remaining for about twenty-five years, then disappearing. Moretti obtained his data on New Woman novels from Ann Ardis's *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (1990). Ardis's text was also the source for much of the information on New Woman titles collected for this thesis.

[6] Ada Cambridge, George Egerton, Millie Finkelstein, Rosa Praed, and Tasma.

[7] Girton College was the first college for women in England attached to a university. It opened in 1869 as the College for Women and was renamed Girton College in 1873. It was, however, to be another seventy-five years (1948) before the College was granted official status as a College of the University, and before women were admitted to full membership of Cambridge University.

[8] "Angel in the House": the term originated as the title of an 1862 poem by Coventry Patmore.

[9] Ouida: Maria Louise Ramé, English novelist, 1839–1908.

[10] *Punch*: Also known as the *London Charivari*: a British weekly humour and satire magazine for men (1841–1992).

[11] The *Yellow Book* was a hard-covered quarterly periodical which ran for thirteen issues between April 1894 and April 1897, and published articles with *avant garde* themes.

[12] In this New Woman novel, the heroine, Herminia, believes that marriage is an undesirable form of subjugation, and persuades her lover, Alan, to cohabit without wedlock. Alan dies shortly before the birth of their child, Dolores, and Herminia brings her up alone, raising her in the same beliefs. Dolores rejects those beliefs, and Herminia eventually takes her own life to permit Dolores to marry her chosen

mate without the stigma of an unmarried woman as a mother. Publication details: Grant Allen. *The Woman Who Did*. 1895. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995.

[13] Dr Bernard Ince is an historian, and biographer of Achurch and her two husbands, St Aubyn Miller and Charrington. In January 2014, Dr Ince provided me with a copy of his unpublished working paper, *A Janet Achurch Chronology*, last updated on 13 June 2008.

[14] See Ince's article "Before Ibsen: The Early Stage Career of Janet Achurch" for a more detailed list of Janet's performances between 1883 and 1889.

[15] Many biographies and dictionaries incorrectly show Janet's year of birth as 1864.

[16] (Fitzwilliam) St Aubyn (Gordon) Miller, 1865–1929. Remarried after divorcing Janet, and had some minor successes as an actor and dramatist.

[17] Charles Charrington Martin, 1854–1926: stage name Charles Charrington.

[18] Although her performances in London were few, they were eventful, and, in one instance, nearly fatal. She almost lost her life while rehearsing *Willard's Weird* (dramatisation of a novel by Mary Elizabeth Braddon). A prop man had removed a stage dagger and replaced it with a sharp-bladed kitchen knife. In the course of the play, Achurch was stabbed, sustaining a deep wound: the blade had come very close to her femoral artery. The fate of the prop man is not recorded.

[19] The theatre had opened as the Novelty on 9 December 1882; it had various names over the next seven years, but reverted to the original name in early 1889.

[20]James Cassius Williamson, 1844–1913; Arthur Garner, 1851–?; and George Musgrove, 1854–1916.

[21] (Johan) August Lindberg, 1846–1916: Swedish actor, stage director, and theatre manager, who was among the first to introduce Ibsen plays to Sweden.

[22] Suzannah Thoresen: daughter of Magdalene Thoresen, a Norwegian authoress.

[23] *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*: an 1891 collection of lectures given to the Fabian Society by Shaw, updated in 1913 and 1922.

[24] Fabius Maximus Verruvosus Cunctator, known as Fabius the Cunctator, or Delayer.

[25] Eleanor Marx-Aveling, 1855–1898: socialist, public speaker, translator, and author. Edward Bibbins Aveling, 1849–1898: biology teacher, playwright, and advocate of Darwinism, evolution, atheism, and socialism.

[26] Aveling was writing under the name Alec Nelson.

[27] Emu Plains was a government farm for convict labour about fifty-six kilometres from Sydney. Robert Jordan notes that theatrical performances may have commenced there as early as 1823, but that it has generally been accepted that the theatre was in use from May 1825 to late November 1830.

[28] Some sources show the name as "Atley's."

[29] Greenwood's source: *Demography,* 1949; *Quarterly Summary of Australian Statistics,* Mar. 1952; the "Average Annual Rate of Growth Owing to Net Immigration During Period" was calculated prior to 1861 on the assumption that natural rate of increase was 2 per cent per annum.

[30] Henry Handel Richardson: Ethel Florence Lindesay Robertson, 1870–1946.

[31] Miles Franklin: Stella Maria Sarah Franklin, 1879–1954.

[32] "Banjo" Paterson: Andrew Barton Paterson, 1864–1941.

[33] Alfred Dampier, c. 1848–1908: theatrical producer and writer of melodrama.

[34] *Australian Poets, 1788–1888* (1888): editor Douglas Brooke Wheelton Sladen (1856–1947); publisher Griffith, Farran, Okeden and Welsh, London.

[35] "New chum": originally criminal slang for a newly arrived convict, "new chum" became the term for any new immigrant with a perceived sense of superiority in dress and manners.

[36] Universal suffrage was not achieved in Australia until the 1960s, when Indigenous Australians were granted the right to vote.

[37] "Pistachio": pen name for Agnes Rose-Soley, 1847–1938. Born Agnes Rebecca Rose. Also known as A.R. Rose-Soley, Mrs J.F. Soley, Madame Rose-Soley, J.F. Rose-Soley. Also writes as "Rose de Boheme."

[38] *Devil Caresfoot*: According to the *Dictionary of Australasian Biography* (on-line), dramatist Charles Haddon Chambers adapted H[enry] Rider Haggard's novel *Dawn* (1884) under the title *Devil Caresfoot*, for Janet and Charrington. The play was first produced at a matinee at the Vaudeville Theatre in London.

[39] "*Sui devant*": translates as "self-absorbed."

[40] *The New Magdalen* (1873): by Wilkie Collins. A prostitute, Mercy Merrick, is inspired to reform by a clergyman, Julian Gray. After taking on the identity of Grace Roseberry, a respectable but hard woman, Mercy becomes engaged to Horace Holmcroft. When Grace, who was thought to have been dead, returns, the betrothal is ended. However, Mercy meets the young clergyman again, and they marry, but leave England for America to avoid rejection by society. Similarly to *Forget-me-not*, *Frou-Frou*, *Adrienne Lecouvreur* and *Fedora*, the female protagonist in this play is a strong character, who ultimately pays a price for over-stepping social boundaries. In *A Doll's House*, it is left to the individual auditor to consider whether a price is payable, or whether the female protagonist does indeed step outside the "doll's house" that is social convention.

[41] Nora was to follow in her parents' footsteps. According to the *Queenslander* of Saturday, 22 June 1901 (page 1220), she made her stage debut at the Crystal Palace in London, in her father's May Day production of Hauptmann's *Weavers*. She married Edward Lewis Levetus in 1908, and had a child by him. She died on 11 July 1914, aged only 24.

[42] *Frou-Frou* (1870): by Ludovic Halévy and Henri Meilhac. Gilberte is an irresponsible young woman who invites her respectable sister to live with her and her family, leaving Gilberte free to pursue a life as a loose woman. She returns home to repent, and die.

[43] *Fedora* (1882): by Victorien Sardou.

[44] Lady Hamilton: Lady Teresa Hamilton, wife of Sir Robert Hamilton, who was Governor of Tasmania from 1887 to 1892 and also one of the founders of the University of Tasmania.

[45] Falk Studios had been opened in 1887 by Australian photographer Walter Barnett, who became the preferred photographer to famous people. The entry in his name in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (on-line) records that "his most notable sitters were visiting actors and actresses, especially those brought out by his friend J. C. Williamson."

[46] Arthur Ernest Streeton (later Sir Arthur), 1867–1943: Australian landscape painter, and one of the founders of the Heidelberg School.

[47] Ward had sole rights to *Forget-me-not*, which she had performed in the same theatre seven years previously. The play is by Herman Charles Merivale and F.C. Grove. Stephanie marries the Marquis de Mohrivart, who uses her to decoy young gamblers in his gaming-houses in Paris. They have a son, who is raised apart from his parents. He marries an Englishwoman, then dies, leaving his widow and a son. The marriage is without his parent's consent and therefore illegal; Stephanie, now in Rome, uses this information to force Rose, her daughter-in-law, to introduce her into society. Sir Horace Welby, in love with Rose, recognises Stephanie from her disreputable youth, and tells Barrato, a young man ruined by the de Mohrivart's in Paris, and seeking revenge. Stephanie, afraid, signs documentation validating her son's marriage, and leaves Rome.

[48] According to the Mayo Clinic (on-line), dysarthria (difficulty controlling or coordinating the muscles used to speak, often characterised by slurring or slowing of speech) can be caused by various conditions and some medications, including narcotics. It is likely that chronic pain suffered after the difficult birth of Nora forced Achurch to take morphine, to which she later became addicted. Criticisms directed at Achurch's delivery and voice began to appear in the press in the early months of 1891, and were to continue.

[49] *The Wager*: adapted from Alexandre Dumas's play *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*. Charrington purchased the sole rights, according to the advertisement in the *Argus* on 9 April 1891 (page 1). Janet was to play Gabrielle de Belle-Isle.

[50] Right Honourable John Adrian Louis Hope, Earl of Hopetoun.

[51] Labour Day, held in Victoria that year on 21 April.

[52] New South Wales Legislative Assembly elections were held between 17 June and 3 July 1891.

[53] *Adrienne Lecouvreur* (1849): by Ernest Legouvé and Eugène Scribe. It tells the story of Adrienne Lecouvreur, a leading French eighteenth-century actress. Born in 1692, she is credited with pioneering a more natural type of acting. She died in mysterious circumstances in 1730.

[54] Sir Victor Albert George Child-Villiers, 7th Earl of Jersey, 1845–1915. Governor of New South Wales 15 January 1891 to November 1892. Married Margaret Elizabeth Leigh in 1872.

[55] Cawthorne also mentions that the building known as the Albert Hall was now (that is, in 1916) the Salvation Army Citadel.

[56] Sir John Forrest was Western Australia's first Premier, having been elected only the previous year.

[57] Items in the *Daily News* were often repeated in the *Inquirer and Commercial* a day or two later.

[58] "Le Flaneur": lit., "saunterer." Here probably used to imply the cultural association of the passive yet influential observer of social relationships, one of many socially-constructed meanings which developed around the term.

[59] The crossing to Melbourne took them only twelve and a half hours, because their vessel raced the *Coogee* across Bass Strait.

[60] It was reported in the English *Ladies Pictorial* (reproduced in the *Maitland Mercury* on 26 March, 1891, page 6) that two ladies had sat silently through *A Doll's House*. At the conclusion, one remarked, "Rather dull, wasn't it?" to which the other replied, "Never mind about that, it's the cleverness of the acting. Look how stiff one of them kept all the time—*they're all supposed to be dolls, you know!*" While amusing and probably apocryphal, this anecdote demonstrates one of the many possible interpretations.

[61] Sir Arthur Hunter Palmer, 1819–1898: pastoralist and politician. Acting Governor of Queensland in 1883, and again from 9 October 1888 to 1 May 1889; later the first lieutenant-governor of the colony.

[62] Mrs Grundy was a character in Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plough* (1798), and came to personify conventional propriety and respectability, the busybody watchdog of public morals. She appears in much discussion on the New Woman, and in many works of fiction of the New Woman genre.

[63] This last claim must be taken as journalistic licence, because *Camille* was only performed once in Brisbane.

[64] It is not clear from Sir Arthur's letter whether the ladies in question were of his own household, or in general. His wife Cecilia had died in 1885.

[65] Eille Norwood, b. Anthony Edward Brett, 1861–1948: known for his portrayals of Sherlock Holmes. He played Dr Rank in this performance of *A Doll's House*.

[66] Lady Margaret Elizabeth Jersey, nee Leigh, 1849–1945. Wife of Sir Victor Albert George Child-Villiers, 7th Earl of Jersey, Governor of New South Wales from 1891 to 1892. Lady Jersey was founding president of the Victoria League which had the aim of strengthening ties between England and its colonies. She was an active opponent of female suffrage.

[67] Perhaps manufacturer Robert Fowler, 1840–1906, who spent some years in local government, including as mayor of Sydney in 1880, and alderman in 1890; later a Justice of the Peace and Member of the Legislative Council. He was known for his sympathy for the cause of female suffrage.

[68] Buchanan refers to Ibsen as a "poor little Scandinavian" in *Contemporary* magazine for January 1890, according to the *Argus* of 25 January 1890 (page 4).

[69] In today's idiom, "two of a trade never [or seldom] agree."

[70] Interest in Ibsen's works was also known as "the Ibsen Cult."

[71] From Shakespeare's Sonnet 116: "Let me not to the marriage of true minds / Admit impediment . . ."

[72] E. Pariss Nesbit, 1852–1927. Also known as Paris Nesbit. Child prodigy, author, translator, editor. Published pamphlets on Lunacy Laws, insolvency, and women's suffrage. Suffered psychotic episodes

for which he was sometimes institutionalised. Not to be confused with his cousin Edith Nesbit (1858–1924), English poet and author, political activist, and founding member of the Fabian Society.

[73] This contradicts the *Argus* article of 27 July 1889 which suggests that the topic was taboo in Scandinavia but not in London.

[74] A year and a half later, the English High Court overturned a lower court finding which had been in favour of a Mr Jackson, who had forcibly secured the custody of his wife after she left the matrimonial home. In what was to be known as "the Clitheroe case," it was one of the first intimations of a change in attitude of the legal system to the rights of women in England and, by extension, in Australia. The case was reported in the Hobart *Mercury* on Friday, 12 June 1891 (page 2) in a long article debating whether marriage was a failure, and in which Nora and *A Doll's House* are linked with the issue of the rights of husbands and wives.

[75] Walter Besant, 1836–1901: novelist, playwright, and historian.

[76] Israel Zangwill: Anglo-Jewish writer and political activist; involved in women's suffrage movements.

[77] Besant's sister-in-law, Annie Besant, prominent socialist and women's rights activist, had left his brother in 1874, supporting herself as an authoress – the profession Besant gives to Nora.

[78] Intriguingly, the *Argus* of 28 July 1891 (page 6) reports a suicide by drowning in Berlin, when a girl of about sixteen threw herself from a boat, leaving behind her a copy of Ibsen's "Nora." Besant's story first issued in public in early 1890.

[79] William Ewart Gladstone, 1809–1898: British prime minister.

[80] M.W. MacCallum: the foundation Professor of Modern Language and Literature at the University of Sydney.

[81] "Rose de Boheme": pen name for Agnes Rose-Soley, 1847–1938. Born Agnes Rebecca Rose. Also known as A.R. Rose-Soley, Mrs J.F. Soley, Madame Rose-Soley, J.F. Rose-Soley. Also writes as "Pistachio."

[82] Emilie Matilda Australie Heron, nee Manning, 1845–1890. Writer and poet.

[83] *Ghosts* was first performed in Australia in about November, 1923 at the Palace Theatre, Sydney by the J. and N. Tait Repertory Company.

[84] *Hedda Gabler* premiered in the Residenztheater in Munich on 31 January 1891. Its London debut was on 20 April 1891 at the Vaudeville, staged by Elizabeth Robins and Marion Lea.

[85] The plot of *Hedda*, although complex, can be précised as follows. Hedda has recently married for security rather than love, but finds life no less constricting: even more so, because she may now be pregnant. Her husband, an uninspired pedant, may not achieve the increased income and eminence earlier anticipated from the publication of a book. An academic rival has written one far worthier of publication and fame but Hedda secretly burns the only manuscript. She encourages the rival to commit suicide with one of her pair of pistols. Instead, he is shot with the pistol during a drunken brawl, and dies. The husband makes it his life's work to reconstruct the lost manuscript with the help of the rival's female amanuensis, who holds the original notes. Hedda's involvement in the death of the rival is discovered by a blackmailer, and she suicides with the other pistol.

[86] "Veritas" translates as "truth" or "reality."

[87] "Vigilans et audax" translates as "vigilant and bold."

[88] Émile Zola, 1840–1902: French writer, and exponent of naturalism. Much of his work examines the social and hereditary effects of violence, alcohol, and prostitution.

[89] Proverbs 22:6: "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it" (Holy Bible, King James Version).

[90] It was noted in the *Launceston Examiner* of 3 October 1891 (page 2) that "a reliable dictionary" by Mr [William] Davenport Adams was to issue in England. The first volume, from A to G, was published in 1904 under the title *A Dictionary of the Drama: A Guide to the Plays, Playwrights, Players, and Playhouses of the United Kingdom and America, from the Earliest Times to the Present.* Davenport died the same year, and the second volume was never published. Volume I is available on

the Internet as an ebook. As well as having a short biography, Achurch is mentioned in several items in relation to performances of plays.

[91] Under the name Laura Petersen, Keiler wrote *Brand's Daughters*, a sequel to Ibsen's *Brand*.

[92] The "lesser Nora" is baby Nora Charrington Martin.

[93] "La Quenouille" translates as "distaff": referring to the female side of the family, or women in general. Pen name of poet and editor Mary Hannay Foott.

[94] A sequel to *A Doll's House*, entitled *Nora*, by Kit Brookman and Anne-Louise Sarks, is currently(August-September 2014) being performed at the Belvoir Street Theatre in Sydney, replacing *Hedda Gabler*.

[95] It was reported in that article that Charrington, offended at remarks made by the *Statesman*, a local periodical, had "behaved somewhat obstreperously in the editorial sanctum," occasioning the issue of the warrant.

[96] Richard Mansfield, 1857–1907: German-born English actor-manager best known for his roles in Shakespeare, Gilbert and Sullivan, Ibsen, and Shaw. Managed and performed in Broadway productions in New York between 1890 and 1907.

[97] The Stage Society, mostly Fabians, had been formed in July 1899 by Fred Whelen. Charrington was on the Management Committee, and Janet on the Reading and Advising Committee.

[98] "Convict Once, A Poem" (1871) by James Brunton Stephens is ostensibly the death-bed confession of an ex-convict woman, Magdalen Power, who has wronged her own daughter.

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INDEX TO APPENDICES

Parameters

Source of Information:
Information is drawn from newspaper advertisements, reviews, notices, and other items through Trove, the National Library of Australia digital archive, between 2010 and 2013, at http://trove.nla.gov.au.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/
The few exceptions are in the Itinerary, where the information marked with an asterisk was obtained through secondary data from Janette Gordon-Clark:
Gordon-Clark, Janette A. "'The Progress of the Stars': Actresses and their Repertoires in Australia from the 1850s to the 1890s." Diss. Monash, 2000.

Although every effort has been made to ensure completeness and accuracy of information, there are some limitations:

- Not all newspapers and periodicals have been digitised and made available on through the National Library of Australia.
- Items that have been digitised after the research process will not appear.
- Items that have been extracted do not necessarily contain full or accurate information.
- Poorness of digital reproduction at times obscures text.
- Spelling of names can differ from occurrence to occurrence within and between newspapers and periodicals.

APPENDIX 1

REVIEWS, OPINIONS, AND LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CONTENTS **Page**

Source of Information:
Information in this appendix was drawn from newspaper advertisements, reviews, notices, and other items through Trove, the National Library of Australia digital archive, between 2010 and 2013, at http://trove.nla.gov.au.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/

DATA COLLECTION

Scope: Australian periodicals for the period 1880 to 1891 available through Trove, the digitised database at the National Library of Australia

	Periodical Title	*Abbreviation*
1.	*Advertiser*	*Advertiser*
2.	*Alexandra & Yea Standard, Gobur, Thornton & Acheron Express*	*Alexandra & Yea*
3.	*The Argus*	*Argus*
4.	*Australian Town & Country Journal*	*Aus. Town & Country*
5.	*Barrier Miner*	*Barrier Miner*
6.	*Bathurst Free Press & Mining Journal*	*Bathurst Free Press*
7.	*Broadford Courier & Reedy Creek Times*	*Broadford Courier*
8.	*The Brisbane Courier*	*Brisbane Courier*
9.	*Camperdown Chronicle*	*Camperdown Chronicle*
10.	*Capricornian*	*Capricornian*
11.	*Clarence & Richmond Examiner & New England Advertiser*	*Clarence/Richmond*
12.	*The Daily News*	*Daily News*
13.	*The Dawn*	*Dawn*
14.	*Euroa Advertiser*	*Euroa Advertiser*
15.	*Evelyn Observer, and South and East Bourke Record*	*Evelyn & Bourke*
16.	*Gippsland Times*	*Gippsland Times*
17.	*Illustrated Australian News*	*Illus. Australian*
18.	*Illustrated Australian News Supplement*	*Illus. Australian Supp*
19.	*Illustrated Australian News & Musical Times*	*Illus. Aus. Musical*
20.	*Illustrated Sydney News*	*Illus. Sydney News*
21.	*Inquirer & Commercial News*	*Inquirer & Comm.*
22.	*Kalgoorlie Western Argus*	*Kalgoorlie W. Argus*
23.	*Kyabram Union*	*Kyabram Union*
24.	*Launceston Examiner* (*Examiner* from 1900)	*Launceston Examiner*
25.	*The Mail*	*Mail*
26.	*The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser*	*Maitland & Hunter*
27.	*The Mercury* (and supplement)	*Mercury*
28.	*Morning Bulletin*	*Morning Bulletin*
29.	*Morwell Advertiser*	*Morwell Advertiser*
30.	*North Australian*	*North Australian*
31.	*North Eastern Ensign*	*N.E. Ensign*
32.	*Northern Territory Times & Gazette*	*NT Times*
33.	*Oakleigh Leader*	*Oakleigh Leader*
34.	*Portland Guardian*	*Portland Guardian*
35.	*Queanbeyan Age*	*Queanbeyan Age*
36.	*Queenscliff Sentinel, Drysdale, Portarlington & Sorrento Advertiser*	*Queenscliff Sentinel*
37.	*The Queenslander*	*Queenslander*
38.	*Singleton Argus*	*Singleton Argus*
39.	*South Australian Register* (*Register* from 1900)	*SA Register*
40.	*The Sydney Morning Herald*	*Sydney M. Herald*
41.	*Traralgon Record*	*Traralgon Record*
42.	*Warragul Guardian & Buln Buln & Narracan Shire Advocate*	*Warragul Guardian*
43.	*Warwick Examiner & Times*	*Warwick Examiner*
44.	*West Australian*	*West Australian*
45.	*West Gippsland Gazette*	*W. Gippsland Gazette*
46.	*Western Mail*	*Western Mail*
47.	*Williamstown Chronicle*	*Williamstown Chron.*
48.	*Windsor & Richmond Gazette*	*Windsor & Richmond*

Units of analysis

Every item of any typology making reference to:

1. The dramatist: Henrik Ibsen.
2. The actress: Janet Achurch.
2. The play: *A Doll's House*.
3. The female protagonist: Nora Helmer.

Search terms

1. Ibsen
2. Achurch/Charrington
3. Doll/Doll's House, A/The

CODING

Parameters

- Coding is applied only to items relating to productions in Australia of *A Doll's House* during the years 1889 to 1891.
- Coded items are only those originating in Australia and published in Australian periodicals.
- Coding is made from subjective analysis of the attitude (to the search terms) found within each item. Although instances of sympathetic or antipathetic responses can be placed on continuums from very strong to very mild, time restrictions and facility of synthesis dictate the necessity of coding simplicity.
- More than 1,400 items of all typologies have been located over the research period (14 September 1889 to 14 November 1891). For this reason, the items in this appendix are restricted to responses in the form of reviews, opinions, and letters to the editor for that period, that is, from 14 September 1889 (the first production of *A Doll's House* in Australia) to 14 November 1891 (Janet's departure from Australia).
- For each item the following is provided: the date the item was published; the periodical in which it appeared; the place of publication; the page or pages in the periodical; the typology (whether review, opinion, or letter to the editor); the rubric in the periodical; the search term (in bold) found within each item, and the item in abbreviated form.

Codes

Actress
A = Janet Achurch

Dramatist	Drama	Female protagonist
I = Ibsen	*D = A Doll's House*	N = Nora Helmer

Response		
S = Sympathetic/supportive	A = Antipathetic/antagonistic	N = Neutral/objective

Example
A-N = a mostly neutral or objective reference to Janet Achurch, or a simple reference to her name without comment.

	Date	Periodical	Place Published	Page	Typology	Rubric	Search Term Found, and Item in Abbreviated Form	Response Code			
7/6/1889: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* PREMIERES IN ENGLAND AT NOVELTY THEATRE, LONDON											
14/9/1889: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* PREMIERES IN AUSTRALIA AT NEW PRINCESS'S THEATRE, MELBOURNE											
1.	Sep 16 Mon 89	*Argus*	Melbourne	6	Review	Princess's Theatre	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Play "excessively didactic and insufficiently dramatic"; playgoers prefer melodrama, not used to slower drama; bad gallery; Nora unwomanly; Achurch play's redeeming feature	A-S	I-A	*D*-A	N-A
2.	Sep 16 Mon 89	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	5	Review	*Doll* 1st prod Melb.	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Play does not deserve support, a failure: "gone up like a rocket and come down like the proverbial stick"; Nora "skittish child-wife," "*sui devant* heroine"; bad audience; Achurch complete success	A-S	I-A	*D*-A	N-A
3.	Sep 18 Wed 89	*Argus*	Melbourne	9	Letter	*A Doll's House*	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: By "Norwegian" Rebuts *Argus* 16/9/89; supports Ibsen, *Doll*, Nora	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
4.	Sep 20 Fri 89	*Argus*	Melbourne	7	Letter	*A Doll's House*	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Also a Norwegian" Supports Nora; contemptuous of Torvald	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
5.	Sep 21 Sat 89	*Argus*	Melbourne	5	Letter	*A Doll's House*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Anceps" "Norwegian" and "Also Norwegian": more in common than not; *Argus* critic missed Nora's many motives; a tribute to Ibsen for writing a play that makes people talk and think	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
6.	Sep 21 Sat 89	*Argus*	Melbourne	13	Opinion	Ibsen, interpreters	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by Edward J. Hart Nora an Ibsen "good woman"; role one of heaviest on English stage; play brings into open 1. Inequities in marriage 2. Problems with women's education; Achurch biography, stage background; Charringtons' marriage good	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
7/12/1889: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN ADELAIDE AT THEATRE ROYAL											
7.	Dec 9 Mon 89	*Advertiser*	Adelaide	5	Review	Theatre Royal	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Play eccentric in style; Nora remorseless; Achurch acting made Nora real; audience large, attentive, not enthusiastic;				

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							Ibsen will not be popular in Australia but *Doll's House* worth seeing when Achurch plays heroine	A-S	I-N	*D*-N	N-A
8.	Dec 9 Mon 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	7	Review	Theatre Royal	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Achurch: glowing review; play "powerful," "peculiar," not helped by any comedy; Nora irrational: Norwegian women must be slower than "British matron"; Torvald unpredictable	A-S	I-A	*D*-A	N-A
9.	Dec 14 Sat 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	7	Letter	"The Doll's House"	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by L.A. Jessop Viewed performance after review *SA Reg* 9/12/89, refutes review: Nora and stance admirable; world needs more women like her and more teachings like Ibsen's	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
10.	Dec 16 Mon 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	7	Letter	"The Doll's House"	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Your Critic" re Jessop's letter Play title feeble; low opinion of Nora confirmed upon second viewing of play; Jessop had to dive "into the depths of his imagination" to bring up a good opinion of play	I-A	*D*-A	N-A	
11.	Dec 17 Tue 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	6	Letter	"The Doll's House"	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Thorvald Helmer" Purportedly by Nora's husband: wife thought beautiful, loving, untainted; discovered to be childish, wayward, deceitful, dishonourable; when "upbraided" and forgiven would not forgive in return; instead, contemplated suicide, then left; children now heartbroken	I-N	*D*-N	N-A	
12.	Dec 17 Tue 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	7	Letter	To the Editor	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by L.A. Jessop re "Your Critic" Critic unable to analyse Nora; editorial comment: "It is a pity our correspondent cannot carry on a controversy without adopting towards his opponent a studiously offensive tone. Ed."	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
13.	Dec 18 Wed 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	6	Letter	To the Editor	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Dr Rank" "Your Critic" right: Nora "a woman of excitable temperament and criminal instinct … There is little to admire in her character and much to deplore. The kindest thing she did for her husband and children was to leave them"	I-N	*D*-A	N-A	

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14.	Dec 18 Wed 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	6	Letter	To the Editor	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by E. Pariss Nesbit Invitations in Eng. specify no *Doll's House* talk; has read play (given by Charringtons); Ibsen a genius but Nora not "true to life"; women say play "a vindication of their right to individuality" but Nora is selfish, liar, taunter, deceitful, base, puzzling	A-S	I-S	*D*-A	N-A
15.	Dec 27 Fri 89	*SA Register*	Adelaide	7	Letter	"The Doll's House"	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by S. Talbot Smith Play has no stereotyped characters; Torvald should have locked Nora up until she came to her senses; *Doll's House* is "a dose of bitters"	I-A	*D*-A	N-A	
16.	Feb 8 Sat 90	*Argus*	Melbourne	4	Opinion	A book of the play	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by Edward J. Hart Play: still "fierce attack and resolute defence" in London and "heated discussion" in Melbourne; *denouement* caused "miles of newspaper controversy"; 115 *de luxe* copies *Doll's House* with photos of cast printed in Eng., all sold: translated by Archer, informed by Miss Frances Lord's previous version, helped by Achurch/Charrington; play not "didactic sermon" but "pertinent questions"; Nora may not represent ordinary womanhood so much as "an extraordinary and strongly-marked individuality"; final scene resulted in Nora spoken of as if she were a real person, a compliment to any author; detractors helping Ibsen cause; play may not be popular but certainly now part of literature	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S

28/2/1890 AND 7/3/1890: BESANT'S *THE DOLL'S HOUSE – AND AFTER* PUBLISHED (IN TWO PARTS) IN VICTORIA

29/5/1890: BABY NORA CHARRINGTON MARTIN BORN IN MELBOURNE

12/9/1889: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN SYDNEY AT CRITERION THEATRE

17.	July 14 Mon 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	6	Review	*Doll:* Criterion	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Play "discusses but it does not amuse or interest . . . [and] its ending is illogical, absurd, and unsatisfying," amateurish" construction; but "thoroughly well played"; Nora "the antithesis of nature," a liar, flirts; gallery audience "hostile,				

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							rude, unruly . . . unchivalrous . . . unmanly": "rowdyism is becoming rampant in our theatres"; theatre is "primarily, to amuse"	A-S	I-A	*D*-A	N-A
18.	July 16 Wed 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	8	Review	Criterion	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Achurch "very embodiment" of Nora: perfectly renders character's "gaiety … innocence … final awakening"	A-S	I-N	*D*-S	N-S
19.	July 16 Wed 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	8	Letter	*A Doll's House*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by M.W. MacCallum Archer great Ibsen translator; Achurch acting "worthy of Ibsen"; play "one of the greatest intellectual treats that have ever been offered" to Sydney playgoers	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-N
20.	July 19 Sat 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	5	Review	Art, music, drama	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Triumvir" Play "a sign of the times" but Ibsen a "great thinker" not a "playwright" and *Doll's House* not crafted for an audience; that no hint Nora will return is a "grave defect" from theatrical point of view: left audience puzzled, which a good dramatist should not do; Achurch good in role	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
21.	July 22 Tue 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	7	Letter	*A Doll's House*	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Orielensis" "Ibsen's doctrines" include that marriage is taken on because of beauty etc. plus compatibility of "moral and intellectual character" plus need under law and should include "psychical affinity": the last makes the true marriage, or "union of soul": Ibsen "raised a protest" against real world where a "good marriage" is a "business contract" for money or position; Besant wrong blaming Nora in sequel; Triumvir wrong that Nora should stay and try to work things out: the existence of children "adds poignancy to the catastrophe, but can in no way avert it"; cannot suggest the solution: the answer is not making divorce easier but perhaps making it harder to marry; only children seek fairytale ending	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
22.	July 26 Sat 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	4	Opinion	Two views of *Doll*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by Rose de Boheme "A Woman's View": women long been told to be "true to their proper sphere: to husband, child, family circle, and social				

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							tradition"; most printed discussion re *Doll's House* to date been by men: some sympathetic, but cannot quite agree that Nora justified in leaving children; many women cannot, either; "the 'social question' discussions of the day" come down to the children: "it is over the cradle that the battle is being fought fierce and loud," not the "mere relationship between the sexes"; Nora realises she unfit for "natural" task of child-rearing; realises that above duty to her children is a higher one, "dimly felt"; "Helmerian school" "to whom woman is but a charming toy" are fewer, but still a majority: it is up to women to speed process up; one day will be equality; tribute to the "brave artists" who brought *Doll* to Australia: Achurch "dared to defy conventional thought, and help her sisters to recognise their mournful shortcomings and their glorious potentialities"; "the most soul-stirring, sympathetic, subtle actress" correspondent has seen in Australia	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
23.	July 26 Sat 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	4	Opinion	Two views of *Doll*	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Q" "A Man's View": Sydney has given play due attention and discussion: good to hear defenders; three types "whoop up" any new fad and all represented in "the Ibsen controversy": neurotics, lone females, and earnest students; controversy is about two things: Ibsen and *Doll's House*; people are interested in Ibsen as the writer of plays not as a social theorist; an audience wants "action, incident, scenery, comedy or tragedy . . . and a running fire of brisk conversation"; *Doll's House* "notably deficient in all" of the "certain well-recognised canons of popular dramatic criticism" until Nora's awakening; the play's "moral effect" is obvious to those who appreciate it; there is gradual change in attitudes, and things are improving for women but "there is enough truth to fact in Ibsen's play to make it a vigorous and biting satire on our much-praised civilisation"; average playgoer is used to good triumphing over evil: in *Doll's House* the "ogre" is "conventional civilisation" oppressing women: Nora is Andromeda "chained to the rock of conventionality and habit" until Perseus [herself] sets her free; sudden awakening frightens average playgoer: if all "wives and mothers"				

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							suddenly did the same then the family itself is under threat; average playgoer also thinks: problems (*if* any) can be fixed by better training women while girls, to avoid any later (inconvenient) flashes of inspiration	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
24.	July 29 Tue 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	6	Letter	Two views of *Doll*	**Ibsen/*Doll***: by "Another Man" Lifelong belief in men's intellectual superiority over women shaken by reading the two views: has nothing but "respectful praise" for woman's view; does not think much of the references to the feeble neurotics and gaunt female: gaunt females over-worked stereotype; pleased *Doll's House* has stirred discussions; re reference to *Doll's House* deficient in "recognised canons of dramatic criticism": so were some of Shakespeare's; whoever wrote the man's view did not give the play careful, serious consideration but rather produced an "amusing newspaper article"	I-S	*D*-S	
25.	July 29 Tue 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	6	Letter	To the Editor	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Zicka" re de Boheme Ibsen deliberately closed *Doll* as he did to cause discussion: a happily ever after ending would not have done so; wrote *Doll* to make the world think, especially men; 90/100 men treat women as unequally as Torvald treats Nora; women awaken like Nora, but many weaken; plot came partly from real life, partly from imagination; Nora acted like a child until her epiphany: "Certainly one of the mysteries of the present day is when and how intelligence comes to a woman": is she born with it, does it grow over time, or does it arrive through an epiphany?	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
26.	Aug 2 Sat 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	5	Opinion	*Doll*: Wife's View	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "A" *Doll's House* plus Divorce Bill plus *Is Marriage a Failure?* [article by Mona Caird mentioned in *Argus* 21/9/1889] plus Tolstoi (sic) are "bringing the subject of conjugal relations under discussion in all circles"; two arguments: Is a woman's first duty to herself, or to her husband and children? and Do a woman's "mental and moral development" precede all other claims?; answer by "A": a woman's first duty is not to herself; if all wives left, and all husbands, there would be "a wholesale			

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							devastation of homes"; Nora did it the easy way: millions of women didn't/don't – they wait loyally, for "worse as well as for better" until death parts them, knitting "new bonds of mutual life" and "shedding the light of holy peace upon the most chaotic home" by their "honour, purity, and truth"; "the doctrine of self-sacrifice" is the basis of Christianity and other great religions: was Christ wrong? Ibsen surely will give us another drama in which Nora discovers her folly and returns home, penitent: will see other wronged women "standing quietly by" drunken husbands and forgiving the "father of her children" over and over, and will go back—or be found by Torvald in a slum somewhere and lovingly carried home—and work as she ought on her marriage	I-A	*D*-A	N-A
27.	Aug 5 Tue 90	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	7	Letter	Another woman	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by L. Hartley It's good that women "ponder these things in their heart": hopefully eventually "woman is installed in her true position—that of companion and helpmate to man, and guardian guide, and instructor of her children"; but careful of to whom they listen: Nora a "weak woman" who runs away from her "stern imperative duty" to bring up children so they can become men of "sound moral principles and great mental power"; should have made the "greater self-sacrifice—to stay with them and strive to be all a mother ought": not as a doll but as a "real sensible mother" so she could win back Torvald's love and respect	I-N	*D*-S	N-A
OCTOBER 1890 TO JANUARY 1891: NEW ZEALAND TOUR										
11/2/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN BRISBANE AT THEATRE ROYAL										
28.	Feb 12 Thu 91	*Brisbane Courier*	Brisbane	5–6	Review	Achurch/*Doll*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** London, Melbourne, Sydney papers full of *Doll's House* and the "controversy on its dramatic and ethical merits" Crowded audience "riveted" last night: totally silent at climax as though theatre empty; *Doll's House*: hard to recall one that "would appeal more strongly to the emotions"; Achurch			

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							"noble" as Nora: "highest ability, if not histrionic genius" – merges her identity with Nora; end is "unspeakably sad": "Ibsen propounds theory" in the stand that Nora takes when she "at last closes the door on herself": "peculiar as it [the end] is, it is hard to see how the author could have made it different"A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
29.	Feb 13 Fri 91	*Brisbane Courier*	Brisbane	4	Opinion	Friday Feb 13	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Ibsen goes past young romantic love to show what can happen when love fades and marriage fails; world-wide controversy is "too superficial": two stories: one the "delineation of a noble woman … whose latent spiritual energy, when fully aroused, is painfully reactionary" and other is of an "impulsive and impetuous" woman who commits a crime and is willing to suicide for her husband, whose ingratitude and denunciation "comes to her like a sword"; play is "didactic even to the divorce of art from its dramatic force"; Ibsen turns his back on altruism and "rushed into" egoism but he and his "apostles" won't make much "headway and no heartway" until "human love expels maternal affection"	I-A	*D*-S	N-S	
30.	Apr 9 Thu 91	*Argus*	Melbourne	5	Review	Thu Apr 9	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Cast different but stronger than in Sep 89 when play caused controversy but "gained an increasing hold of the public"; "improving understanding of Ibsen's modes of thought" is evidenced by "the intelligent reception" of the play this time; Achurch "gained full possession of the sympathies of the audience" with performance of "truth and realism"	A-S	I-N	*D*-S	N-S
20/4/1891: *HEDDA GABLER* PREMIERES IN LONDON AT VAUDEVILLE THEATRE (PRODUCED BY ELIZABETH ROBINS)											
31.	June 8 Mon 91	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	3	Review	Women's College	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Matinee benefit for Women's College Fund (already raised £5,000, a pre-condition for government grant but funds still needed for equipment); upper gallery set aside for uni undergrads including "a large proportion of lady students"; audience interested in *Doll's House* from curtain rise to fall; Ibsen's simple realism dispenses with stereotyped stage setting				

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							and characters thus "showing the motives, sentiment, and the common place human nature of social life as they are": critics sometimes consider this prejudices "the art of the dramatist proper"; play a "merciless dissection of a master-hand of the conventional philosophy of the family and the marriage-tie, and the whole interest of the drama depends on the circumstance that this is shown to be nothing more or less than a conventionalised mistake"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
32.	June 24 Wed 91	*Bathurst Free Press*	NSW	2	Opinion	V-Regal Patronage	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*** Countess of Jersey (and others) disapprove "the peculiar views of married life" espoused by Ibsen in *Doll's House*; play leaves one "perplexed" and "thoughtful"; Ibsen's plays "deal largely with things as they are, and not as they seem"; vice-regal patronage is given to Sunday night concerts and to other plays "just as prejudicial as Ibsen's"	A-N	I-S	*D*-S	
33.	June 25 Thu 91	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	7	Letter	Nora's message	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "A Wife and Mother" "In the annals of the drama the production of this work is historic; in the history of women's thought it marks an epoch"; Achurch's performance "partly the translation of the unwritten thought; without seeing it 'A Doll's House' is 'misunderstood'"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
34.	June 27 Sat 91	*Sydney M. Herald*	Sydney	10	Opinion	Achurch's farewell	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** "It is not for us to explain why Ibsen, to use a vulgar phrase, does not 'catch on'"; Achurch as Nora "first impressed her personality on a Sydney audience, and it was entirely owing to the sensation created by her representation of the wilful, headstrong Norah [sic] that the season at the Criterion Theatre in July last proved such a success. The discussion which followed is too recent to need revival"; "it is to be regretted that the Charringtons could not have given us more of the great Norwegian author's plays"; "Ibsen apart, Miss Achurch and Mr. Charrington have done much to elevate and refine our dramatic tastes. We need it, as even the most sanguine upholder of the modern theatre will admit"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S

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35.	July 22 Wed 91	*Portland Guardian*	Victoria	3	Opinion	Warrnambool	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Now *Doll's House* seen, Ibsen craze understood; play's portrayal of one aspect of marital relationships "came upon the audience . . . with a rather startling effect"; most young people do not realise what marriage entails, and even if they were told, they would still and marry	A-S	I-N	*D*-S	N-S
36.	Aug 11 Tue 91	*Barrier Miner*	Broken Hill	2	Review	Ibsen in B. Hill	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Audience "great": to be expected: "for whatever might be the verdict on the much be-praised, much be-damned 'Doll's House,' the people were assured of the high intelligence of those who would fill the principal parts"; play a success from "an artistic point of view" but "scarcely . . . popular": applause extremely scant, although little "unseemly interruption . . . from the back benches"; "To say that the play got entire hold of the audience would be a mistake, but to many present it was a dramatic revelation as agreeable as it was surprising"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
37.	Aug 11 Tue 91	*Barrier Miner*	Broken Hill	2	Opinion	The Lecture-Play	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: "The leaves of "the book with a purpose" bitter experience has taught us to allow to remain uncut": "If the people are to be preached to they prefer to go to church, where they can escape with the contribution of at most sixpence a head"; but occasionally a bold playwright arises: Ibsen "has employed the drama as a speaking trumpet, more than anyone else of this century at least; and he has employed it the most successfully," preaching "the doctrine of the necessity for individualism, for individualisation"; his success secret: "he knows all the tricks of the theatrical business, and is a thorough master of intense dramatic situation"; he looks to the individual, particularly to women and workers, to bring in a new type of aristocracy, advocating individualism more than the State – but "We fear, or rather, trust, that he pours his doctrines into unsympathetic ears in Australia … we want more of the State and less of the individual"; "If he wants the verdict of the people he has got it. It is distinctly unfavourable to him"; Achurch is foremost Ibsen exponent on the stage; audience came out of curiosity	A-S	I-S	*D*-A	N-A

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24/8/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN ADELAIDE AT ALBERT HALL											
38.	Aug 25 Tue 91	*Advertiser*	Adelaide	6	Review	Albert Hall	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Audience: "large attendance" of first- and second-timers; Ibsen "one of the most widely-discussed of European writers"; Achurch as Nora "arrested and held the sympathies of the audience"	A-S	I-S	*D*-N	N-N
39.	Aug 25 Tue 91	*SA Register*	Adelaide	6	Review	*Doll*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** "Ibsenity" not likely to take hold in Adelaide; Nora: "that wildly improbable, flighty female"; a strain for Achurch: "artfully interpreted" character but on stage most of time; "a rather unsympathetic though large house," "attentive and appreciative in a semi-apathetic fashion": probably because the play "furnished so little to a pleasure-loving people"	A-S	I-A	*D*-A	N-A
25/8/1891: *HEDDA GABLER* PREMIERES IN AUSTRALIA AT ALBERT HALL, ADELAIDE											
40.	Aug 31 Mon 91	*SA Register*	Adelaide	7	Letter	Women's franchise	**Nora**: by "A Woman" Pro female suffrage: women capable of more than domestic duties and making hearth and home comfortable for men; if Nora had been treated as a responsible human, and Hedda had found better use for her time, they may have been different	N-S			
41.	Sep 4 Fri 91	*West Australian*	Perth	2	Letter	Hedda Gabler	***Doll***: by "A West Australian" Objects to being "experimented upon": "the mitigated unwholesomeness of 'A Doll's House'"; "we all know that moral rubbish heaps exist in the world, but what possible good can it do to display on the stage, the most offensive pickings from them?"	*D*-A			
42.	Sep 5 Sat 91	*Western Mail*	Perth	17	Opinion	Ibsen's art	**Ibsen** The "English … have the advantage [over other European countries] of fairly healthy minds" and prefer good to win over evil. The nation would have to change a fair bit to "accept plays [such as Ibsen's] which are essentially repulsive"	I-A			

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43.	Sep 14 Mon 91	*West Australian*	Perth	2	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Veritas" Suggests quiet reflection before the war "that has raged over Europe these two years past" starts in WA between the "Ibsenites and anti-Ibsenites"; some critics would have us believe Ibsen's plays are "wild, reckless attacks on long cherished institutions," or "inartistic, ill-composed creations of a brain full of bitterness, immorality and conceit"; in reality we don't like being shown ourselves as we really are, "as in a mirror"; if Ibsen's plays held no truth they would not have "set all the civilized world on fire"; it's time to grow up. Nora is not held up by Ibsen as "a paragon of character"; she realises her shortcomings; her discovery of Torvald's "mediocre meanness," galls many male spectators (mostly married) because that is how they would have acted, now revealed as "cowardly hypocrisy"; full meaning of the play needs "a person of broad views, keen judgment, and fair character" to grasp; by leaving the ending open our peace of mind is disturbed: we feel a duty has been imposed on us, "and we don't half like it"	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
44.	Sep 14 Mon 91	*West Australian*	Perth	4	Opinion	Vigilans et Audax	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*** Achurch's visit to Perth "an event of great interest": her "enterprise" (and success, both "financially" and "artistically") as the forerunner of many more class acts to come to WA; Achurch "directs our attention to that duel" between the "old and new school of artistic ethics" in "literature and on the stage"; Ibsen's printed works and info on him unavailable in Perth, any knowledge is second-hand, from critics, especially "the vehement partisanship": two camps: neither able to be "an abiding place for impartiality" eg 1. Ibsenite "Veritas" in a letter ibid and 2. *Quarterly Review*'s "old slashing and hacking criticism"; both viewpoints worth considering, but there is "strong presumptive evidence of some degree of excellence in works which have set so many people thinking"; *Doll's House* and *Hedda* will not provide amusement but some teaching re conduct, which may be taught by two main means: 1. "paint virtue in all its native loveliness" and 2. "paint vice in all its deformity": Ibsen tends to the latter,			

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							portraying "nobility of character" but leaning "decidedly to the dark side of life"; many critics complain that his characters are "for the most part abnormal" and compare them with Shakespeare, who gave us Iago and Caliban but these are exceptions [acc. to critics]: "Ibsen's abnormalities are the rule": "Artistically it can scarcely be doubted that this tendency is a serious flaw in his work. He claims to hold up the mirror to nature, but presents us with a distorted image scarcely recognisable as human": he may be a great "word-artist" but doubts Ibsen "will ever rank as a true delineator of his species"	A-S	I-S	*D*-A
45.	Sep 15 Tue 91	*West Australian*	Perth	6	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen**: by "M.N." Veritas wants a war: but "the new Master's production are not worth a war"; war was not all over Europe but mostly "confined to certain literary sets" in England; we are not as "accustomed to morbidity in art" as Europeans; "we have wholesomer [sic] instincts" and rather take moral lessons from "what is good and noble" than from "minute dissection of what is evil or ignoble": "We have not yet learnt the necessity of searching for truth in the dungheap"; but this is a money-making age, and notoriety pays, so perhaps [Ibsen] has . . . chosen the most successful course."	I-A		
46.	Sep 16 Wed 91	*Inquirer & Comm.*	Perth	3	Opinion	*A Doll's House*	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Theatre has become place for amusement only, but Ibsen stimulates thought, with messages re "great social problems of the day": his plays are worthy of place with "best literary works of the century"; his creed is "the self-sufficiency of the individual": the "repression of individuality" is the source of most of society's evils – too many customs, conventions"; *Doll's House* opens up the question of marriage; women's matter have improved but Ibsen feels there is room for more: he thinks man regards woman "as an ornamental appendage to his life" rather than being accorded rights and acknowledged as equal in ability; Nora subsumes her will in Torvald's, as he asks and expects; both come to realise the other is not the person they believe them to be; play has caused "violent			

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							controversy"; it is unconventional in form with no *deus ex machina* saving the day: in Ibsen's world, life is more complex; play impresses by its "truth and reality": the characters are lifelike, the plot "thrilling" and "full of the most dramatic situations": but Ibsen bears in mind that the theatre, while not just for pleasure, is also not just for instruction, and the play is of "dramatic power and a knowledge of stagecraft"	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
47.	Sep 16 Wed 91	*West Australian*	Perth	5	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen**: by "S.W." The "curtain dividing evil from good" should not be torn aside like Ibsen has done, "exhibiting in all of its deformity the immoral side of human nature to our children's knowledge, and suggesting to them thoughts and fancies such as never before entered into their understanding"; our young should be "led by paths hedged in by virtue and good teaching" rather than "enveloped in an atmosphere of immoral odours such as Ibsen delights to pursue"	I-A		
16/9/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN PERTH AT ST GEORGE'S HALL										
48.	Sep 17 Thu 91	*Daily News*	Perth	3	Review	*A Doll's House*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Thanks to *Doll's House* and Achurch, Ibsen has acquired a "small but important band of believers" in Perth, although there is also the "confessed sceptic and scoffer" of two types: 1. The "absolutely conscientious" who felt Torvald and Nora were "unnatural creations" 2. The "absolutely the reverse" who "felt only too keenly that they were true types" and who saw themselves reflected; luckily, as well as the frequently-tittering "coarse-minded, careless man and woman" there were those in the audiences who were fascinated despite themselves – much due to the acting of Achurch and Charrington; Ibsen: "an experienced playwright and theatrical manager" who "sedulously" avoids "conventional stage situations and dialogue": usually, "stage figures are puppets, and often say and do impossible things": *Doll's House* characters speak and act "like ordinary human beings" which caused many not to believe in them; no allegory, parable, no forced metaphor, flowery speech, curtain-closers; Ibsen is "at war with the			

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							shame and conventionalities of modern life" and shows us a "series of pictures of photographic accuracy": just as we "rebel" at unflattering photos, so do we rebel at seeing our worse traits (and we all have them) displayed in public; the role of Nora has "no parallel in regard to the demands made on the performer" but Achurch "fully equal, and achieved a remarkable triumph"; many audience "openly rebelled at and derided the scheme and moral of the drama, [but] all were obviously interested, while, very many, we are glad to say, were deeply enthralled"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
49.	Sep 17 Thu 91	*West Australian*	Perth	5	Review	*A Doll's House*	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Theatre overflowing; lukewarm reception by audience; but *Doll* not an ordinary play: "it is a sermon in action"; a pity the final scene is the only one people remember; Ibsen blamed for making married women leave: but only married in "the conventional sense" and not in the "truest and highest sense"; Nora admits doing wrong by conventions: but there are situations and times in any age when the conventions need to be questioned and "individual judgement … given free play"; *Doll's House* has more than one lesson; it is a "passionate appeal for the development of individuality"; it has been said that *Doll's House* is a play unsuitable for the stage: I disagree: Ibsen needs to be interpreted: to read his plays does not give the facial expression, voice, body language etc.: play's realism is "a blemish" in a book but "wonderfully powerful" on stage; some of us are "intolerably weary" of traditions: Ibsen gives us no stereotypical heroes and villains and it is a relief to escape into reality, with real, more human men and women; Achurch and Charrington undeniably "two exceptionally competent exponents" of Ibsen; Achurch's "artistically pleasing … impersonation of Nora": did not use any of the "ordinary stock-in-trade" tricks of the actress but presented a portrait of a woman developing from a state of extended childhood to a "thinking being"; *Doll's House* not popular but it "compelled attention" and, from some, "unbounded admiration"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S

	Date	Periodical	Place Published	Page	Typology	Rubric	Search Term Found, and Item in Abbreviated Form	Response Code
50.	Sep 17 Thu 91	*West Australian*	Perth	6	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen**: by "Veritas" MN clearly not well-acquainted with modern English literature, Ibsen, and his plays; controversy not confined mostly to certain English literary sets: all Continental papers have discussed Ibsen and his plays at length, and the public all over Continent is divided into two camps; the "vicious insinuation" that Ibsen wrote his plays just to make money is misdirected: "a literary career is … not a very paying affair" in the far North of Europe; MN is a goose; nobody advocated taking children to Ibsen: "like the Bible and like Shakespeare" Ibsen is meant for grown-ups searching for the truth, not for children; most people do not know of the evils Ibsen demonstrates; SW and MN talk about ideal: what higher ideal than to learn where we may be at fault, and correct it?	I-S
51.	Sep 19 Sat 91	*West Australian*	Perth	3	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen**: by "S.W." King Solomon said "Lead up a child in the way in which he should go, and be sure he will not depart from it." Editorial note interposed: "'S.W.' surely quotes Solomon from memory.—Ed. W.A." Veritas resorts to picking at personalities rather than discussing whether society's ills ought to be probed: truth should not be sought in a dung-heap but teaching should tend towards good: this is not possible by looking to "evil sources"; "Man is prone to evil": show him both ways, good and bad, and mostly he will choose bad; all know there are immoralities: "there is no need to advertise them or to give undue prominence to social wounds which are best kept out of sight"; will not continue this argument because Veritas secures his retreat behind "vituperation and abuse"	I-A
52.	Sep 19 Sat 91	*Western Mail*	Perth	18	Opinion	Social problems	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Full rubric: "Social Problems Illustrated by Ibsen": "Although prepared by 'Veritas'" for something nasty, "there was nothing nasty in 'A Doll's House,' as given last Wednesday evening at St. George's Hall"; but neither did it please; some "young men and maidens in certain parts of the house" were rude and unruly but for most Achurch's "finished	

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							and powerful acting compelled the wrapped [sic] and silent attention"; afterwards, "the average woman declared that the play was not to be compared with 'Camille' or 'Forget me not'"; the "average man either allowed he did not care for it or felt dissatisfied and perplexed"; "A small minority of elect were divided between those who received the master's work with enthusirsm [sic], who confessed that it gave them ground for thought, or who sneered at it as 'a clever study of insanity'"; the play "certainly cannot be called a pleasant one—it of course is not meant to be—and it does not seem to call for very high praise or very violent denouncement. It is a psychological puzzle"; the average person is asking, what is Ibsen trying to say?; people already know about marriage (happy or not, and the cause when some are not): the novelty is the "sudden awakening of Norah [sic]" and her "abandonment of home and children"; does Ibsen want the average person to admire Nora, or not? is she just another example of the result of "a rotten social system and a played out civilization"?; if the latter, what would Ibsen suggest as a substitute? it is good that people are asking such questions, and good to know Charrington proposes to answer some in his lecture	A-S	I-N	*D*-N	N-N
53.	Sep 19 Sat 91	*Western Mail*	Perth	18	Opinion	Achurch-Charr Co	**Achurch/Ibsen** Visit by Achurch and company linked to recent Constitutional change: last year's Proclamation led to better searches for gold, and other developments, which had the effect of drawing visiting artists who then achieved official welcome; Achurch and company have no cause to complain of coldness of welcome or lack of artistic recognition or income loss; WA community has always recognised what is "really clever in dramatic act and what is different or unworthy"; a small population does not mean that "small talent is required to amuse it"; Achurch and Charrington "have complimented" WA's "intelligence and appreciative faculties on trust" by coming to Perth; while Achurch "would probably succeed by her consummate art in making almost any drama interesting, if not attractive," we are left with an "uncomfortable feeling"				

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							that such plays as Ibsen's, *Forget-me-not* or *Camille* can nearly "overstep limits for which stage representation public opinion has hitherto set," such plays really having "little in common with real life as most of us know it"; most people in Perth have "old-fashioned convenances [sic]" but we admit that Achurch has "rendered acceptable, and even compelled admiration for, characters which only the Queens of her art can venture to depict"	A-S	I-N
19/9/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN FREMANTLE AT TOWN HALL									
54.	Sep 22 Tue 91	*West Australian*	Perth	6	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen/*Doll***: by "Veritas" Hoped to provoke discussion between people who understood the subject, but it did not work: it seems SW has never read Ibsen, or watched *Doll's House*; those who have know it was wrongly accused: Ibsen, rather than writing "immoralities," is "most delicate"; the remark has been "heard everywhere among the public (perhaps in some instances not even without a little disappointment), that there were no offensive scenes whatever in the play"; when I said it was not a play for children I meant that the teachings were aimed at adults; like many, SW was misled into thinking Ibsen's plays are "obscene"; I have already given my view that society's ills should be laid bare; we need to go out of our way to find, not the immoralities, but their causes: the uncovered truth may not be beautiful, but better uncovered	I-S	*D*-S
22/9/1891: *HEDDA GABLER* OPENS IN PERTH AT ST GEORGE'S HALL									
55.	Sep 23 Wed 91	*West Australian*	Perth	3	Letter	Ibsen's plays	**Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora**: by "Moderation" Two extreme views re Ibsen's plays: the "enthusiastically for, or emphatically against—no connecting link"; both sides have merit; an unskilful surgeon (medical or social) may aggravate what he is trying to heal: has Ibsen aggravated, or exposed?; despite risk of pain, the cause of ills (including evils) ought to be sought, if not, they may "fester and mortify"; Torvald has "despicable manners" which should make any man examine his own conscience: is he "the fine chivalrous fellow he		

	Date	Periodical	Place Published	Page	Typology	Rubric	Search Term Found, and Item in Abbreviated Form	Response Code			
							always took himself to be, or is he not some distant relative of Torvald?"; "Are there no 'dolls' houses' now, is everything as it should be, is there no room for improvement?"	I-S	*D*-S	N-S	
56.	Sep 23 Wed 91	*West Australian*	Perth	4	Opinion	Vigilans et Audax	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** [Report on Charrington's lecture] Although there have been only "less than half a dozen disputants" in the press, "the people who have discussed Ibsen in private conversation must be much more numerous"; *Doll's House* needs more than one "representation" to fully understand it, thus Charrington's lecture was "singularly opportune"	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-N
57.	Sep 26 Sat 91	*Western Mail*	Perth	16	Opinion	Ibsen's plays	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Last week after *Doll's House* "ordinary people may well be pardoned for not understanding Ibsen"; now, after *Hedda*, "neither should they be blamed if they dislike him—it is so extremely natural that they should"; Ibsen repels; 99/100 people do not understand Ibsen's message: this should tell us something; if he wants to teach a lesson about life's seamier underside, why depict women who are not within our experience?; perhaps he is having a joke on us all?	A-S	I-A	*D*-N	N-N
14/10/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN HOBART AT THEATRE ROYAL											
58.	Oct 15 Thu 91	*Mercury*	Hobart	3	Review	"Doll's House"	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** *Doll's House* ending leaves one with sense of incompleteness; it is a lesson not to bend the bow too far; "the iron has entered into the soul of the woman"; Nora's character will be long remembered and allows Achurch to illustrate her "wide histrionic powers"; dialogue in final scene "held the audience enchained"; attendance one of largest since theatre renovated: no standing room downstairs, little in dress circle	A-S	I-S	*D*-S	N-S
20/10/1891: *HEDDA GABLER* OPENS IN HOBART AT THEATRE ROYAL											
24/10/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN LAUNCESTON AT ACADEMY OF MUSIC											

	Date	Periodical	Place Published	Page	Typology	Rubric	Search Term Found, and Item in Abbreviated Form	Response Code			
59.	Oct 26 Mon 91	*Launceston Examiner*	Launceston	2	Review	Current topics	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Achurch good, and audience "profuse in their applause" for company	A-S	I-N	*D*-A	N-A
60.	Oct 31 Sat 91	*Launceston Examiner*	Launceston	2	Review		**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** "I came to the conclusion that Ibsen is, by no manner of means, a genius, and that the production referred to is both commonplace in dialogue and silly in plot"; if *Doll's House* contains a moral then "it is decidedly a very bad one. The woman has no earthly reason whatever to justify her in quitting her husband and children as she does in the end, and her arguments in vindication are flimsy in the extreme"; Achurch's "very clever acting" ensured the play was just toleratedA-S	I-A	*D*-A	N-A	

6/11/1891: *HEDDA GABLER* OPENS IN BRISBANE AT THEATRE ROYAL

13/11/1891: *A DOLL'S HOUSE* OPENS IN BRISBANE AT THEATRE ROYAL

61.	Nov 14 Sat 91	*Brisbane Courier*	Brisbane	5	Review	Theatre Royal	**Achurch/Ibsen/*Doll*/Nora** Theatre "moderately well filled"; audience "appeared to be a very appreciative one"; Achurch's costume for first two acts was "unbecoming": detracted from the play; her "naturally fine voice" was "stagey" in tone and enunciation at first, but she "warmed to her work [and] became as natural in speech as she was throughout in manner, gesture, and in facial expression": facial expression is a "highly important matter" and hers is "of a very high order of merit indeed, and is certainly one of her strongest points"	A-S	I-N	*D*-N	N-N

TABLE

NUMBER OF ALL REFERENCES IN AUSTRALIAN NEWSPAPERS TO AUSTRALIAN PRODUCTIONS OF *A DOLL'S HOUSE* FROM 14 SEPTEMBER 1889 TO 14 NOVEMBER 1891 (CODED)

S = Sympathetic A = Antipathetic N = Neutral T = Total

Year &	ACHURCH				IBSEN				*DOLL*				NORA				Total
Month	S	A	N	T	S	N	A	T	S	A	N	T	S	A	N	T	
1889																	
Sep	8	0	2	10	4	5	1	10	4	7	4	15	4	4	0	8	43
Oct	6	0	2	8	0	1	5	6	1	2	7	10	0	1	2	3	27
Nov	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	5
Dec	4	0	2	6	3	4	6	13	4	5	5	14	3	8	0	11	44
Subtotal	20	0	6	26	7	10	13	30	9	14	18	41	7	13	2	22	119
1890																	
Jan	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
Feb	1	0	0	1	2	3	1	6	1	3	2	6	1	2	1	4	17
Mar	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Apr	0	0	2	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	8
May	0	0	2	2	1	0	3	4	0	1	3	4	0	1	0	1	11
June	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	7	7	0	0	2	2	17
July	13	0	5	18	8	1	5	14	10	1	14	25	6	1	7	14	71
Aug	5	0	1	6	2	1	10	13	4	2	6	12	2	2	1	5	36
Sep	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
Oct	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	3
Nov	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	4
Dec	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	4
Subtotal	19	0	14	33	16	7	30	53	16	10	41	67	10	7	12	29	182
1891																	
Jan	2	0	1	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	1	1	8
Feb	6	0	3	9	2	0	4	6	3	1	9	13	3	1	0	4	32
Mar	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	3
Apr	3	0	3	6	0	1	4	5	2	1	4	7	1	0	2	3	21
May	2	0	2	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	5	5	0	0	2	2	15
June	7	0	5	12	4	1	4	9	4	1	10	15	3	1	3	7	43
July	6	0	2	8	4	3	10	17	1	0	5	6	2	2	3	7	38
Aug	21	0	9	30	9	2	18	29	6	3	21	30	3	2	8	13	102
Sep	15	0	8	23	13	6	13	32	11	3	13	27	6	1	6	13	95
Oct	16	0	7	23	2	6	10	18	1	4	12	17	1	2	1	4	62
Nov	7	0	4	11	0	1	11	12	2	0	8	10	0	0	4	4	37
Subtotal	85	0	44	129	34	20	80	134	31	13	91	135	19	9	30	58	456
Total	124	0	64	188	57	37	123	217	56	37	150	243	36	29	44	109	757

APPENDIX 2

ITINERARY AND REPERTOIRE

CONTENTS **Page**

Source of Information:
Information in this appendix was drawn from newspaper advertisements, reviews, notices, and other items through Trove, the National Library of Australia digital archive, between 2010 and 2013, at http://trove.nla.gov.au.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/

Exceptions:
The few items marked with an asterisk were obtained through secondary data from Janette A. Gordon-Clark:
Gordon-Clark, Janette A. "'The Progress of the Stars': Actresses and their Repertoires in Australia from the 1850s to the 1890s." Diss. Monash, 2000.

A. FULL ITINERARY

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
1889					
5 July to September 1889: Travel from London, England to Melbourne, Australia under engagement to Messrs Williamson, Garner and Musgrove.					
1.	Sep 14 Sat 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	Achurch's first season in Melbourne and Australia. First performance *Doll's House* In Australia
2.	Sep 16 Mon 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House*** n	
3.	Sep 17 Tue 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
4.	Sep 18 Wed 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
5.	Sep 19 Thu 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
6.	Sep 20 Fri 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
7.	Sep 21 Sat 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
8.	Sep 23 Mon 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
9.	Sep 24 Tue 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
10.	Sep 25 Wed 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
11.	Sep 26 Thu 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
12.	Sep 27 Fri 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
13.	Sep 28 Sat 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
14.	Sep 30 Mon 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
15.	Oct 1 Tue 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
16.	Oct 2 Wed 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
17.	Oct 3 Thu 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
18.	Oct 4 Fri 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
19.	Oct 5 Sat 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
20.	Oct 7 Mon 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
21.	Oct 8 Tue 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
22.	Oct 9 Wed 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
23.	Oct 10 Thu 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
	Oct 11 Fri 89				No appearance
24.	Oct 12 Sat 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Written in Sand* and	
25.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
26.	Oct 14 Mon 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Written in Sand* and	
27.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
28.	Oct 15 Tue 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Written in Sand* and	
29.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
30.	Oct 16 Wed 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Written in Sand* and	
31.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
32.	Oct 17 Thu 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Written in Sand* and	
33.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
34.	Oct 18 Fri 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Written in Sand* and	
35.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
36.	Oct 19 Sat 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
37.	Oct 21 Mon 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
38.	Oct 22 Tue 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
39.	Oct 23 Wed 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
40.	Oct 24 Thu 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
41.	Oct 25 Fri 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
42.	Oct 26 Sat 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
43.	Oct 28 Mon 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
44.	Oct 29 Tue 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	Command performance
45.	Oct 30 Wed 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
46.	Oct 31 Thu 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
47.	Nov 1 Fri 89	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
Saturday 2 November to Friday 8 November 1889: Travel Melbourne to Adelaide.					
48.	Nov 9 Sat 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
49.	Nov 11 Mon 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
50.	Nov 12 Tue 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
51.	Nov 13 Wed 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
52.	Nov 14 Thu 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
53.	Nov 15 Fri 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
54.	Nov 16 Sat 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand* and	
55.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
56.	Nov 18 Mon 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand*	
57.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
58.	Nov 19 Tue 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand*	
59.				*Pygmalion and Galatea*	
60.	Nov 20 Wed 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*In His Power*	
61.	Nov 21 Thu 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*In His Power*	
62.	Nov 22 Fri 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*In His Power*	
63.	Nov 23 Sat 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
64.	Nov 25 Mon 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
65.	Nov 26 Tue 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	
66.	Nov 27 Wed 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
67.	Nov 28 Thu 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
68.	Nov 29 Fri 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Led Astray*	
69.	Nov 30 Sat 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The House on the Marsh*	
70.	Dec 2 Mon 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The House on the Marsh*	
71.	Dec 3 Tue 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*The House on the Marsh*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
72.	Dec 4 Wed 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*In His Power*	
73.	Dec 5 Thu 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*In His Power*	
74.	Dec 6 Fri 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand* and	Benefit for Herbert Flemming
75.				*Othello* and	Selections
76.				*Romeo and Juliet*	Selections
77.	Dec 7 Sat 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	First in Adelaide
78.	Dec 9 Mon 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	
79.	Dec 10 Tue 89	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	
December 1889: Travel Adelaide to Melbourne.					
80.	Dec 26 Thu 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	Second season in Melbourne. *Doll's House* not performed
81.	Dec 27 Fri 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
82.	Dec 28 Sat 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
83.	Dec 30 Mon 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
84.	Dec 31 Tue 89	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
1890					
85.	Jan 1 Wed 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
86.	Jan 2 Thu 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
87.	Jan 3 Fri 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
88.	Jan 4 Sat 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
89.	Jan 6 Mon 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
90.	Jan 7 Tue 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
91.	Jan 8 Wed 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
92.	Jan 9 Thu 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
93.	Jan 10 Fri 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
94.	Jan 11 Sat 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
95.	Jan 13 Mon 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
96.	Jan 14 Tue 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
97.	Jan 15 Wed 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
98.	Jan 16 Thu 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
99.	Jan 17 Fri 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	
100.	Jan 18 Sat 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*That Doctor Cupid*	

No record until Saturday 15 February 1890.

101.	Feb 15 Sat 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
102.	Feb 17 Mon 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
103.	Feb 18 Tue 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
104.	Feb 19 Wed 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
105.	Feb 20 Thu 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
106.	Feb 21 Fri 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
107.	Feb 22 Sat 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
108.	Feb 24 Mon 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
109.	Feb 25 Tue 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
110.	Feb 26 Wed 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
111.	Feb 27 Thu 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
112.	Feb 28 Fri 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	
113.	Feb 29 Sat 90	Melbourne	New Princess's Theatre	*Two Nights in Rome*	

No record until Saturday 19 April 1890. Engagement to Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove terminated.

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
114.	Apr 19 Sat 90	Melbourne	Theatre Royal	*As in a Looking Glass*	Recitation, with Harry Rickards Advertised but perhaps not performed Farewell matinee for Mr H.H. Vincent

Baby Nora Charrington Martin born in Melbourne 29 May 1890.

June or July 1890: Travel Melbourne to Sydney.

115.	July 12 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	Achurch's first season in Sydney. First performance of *Doll's House* in Sydney
116.	July 14 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
117.	July 15 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
118.	July 16 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
119.	July 17 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
120.	July 18 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
121.	July 19 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
122.	July 21 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
123.	July 22 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
124.	July 23 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
125.	July 24 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
126.	July 25 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
127.	July 26 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
128.	July 28 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
129.	July 29 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
130.	July 30 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
131.	July 31 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
132.	Aug 1 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
133.	Aug 2 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
134.	Aug 4 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
135.	Aug 5 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
136.	Aug 6 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
137.	Aug 7 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
138.	Aug 8 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
139.	Aug 9 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
140.	Aug 11 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
141.	Aug 12 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
142.	Aug 13 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
143.	Aug 14 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
144.	Aug 15 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Frou-Frou*	
145.	Aug 16 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
146.	Aug 18 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
147.	Aug 19 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
148.	Aug 20 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
149.	Aug 21 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
150.	Aug 22 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
151.	Aug 23 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	***A Doll's House***	Matinee
152.	Aug 23 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	

Sunday 24 August 1890: "At Home" at Vittoria House, Sydney.

153.	Aug 25 Mon 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
154.	Aug 26 Tue 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
155.	Aug 27 Wed 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
156.	Aug 28 Thu 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
157.	Aug 29 Fri 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Fédora*	
158.	Sep 6 Sat 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
159.	Sep 8 Mon 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
160.	Sep 9 Tue 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
161.	Sep 10 Wed 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
162.	Sep 11 Thu 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
163.	Sep 12 Fri 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	Afternoon "At Home" on stage
164.	Sep 13 Sat 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
165.	Sep 15 Mon 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
166.	Sep 16 Tue 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
167.	Sep 17 Wed 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
168.	Sep 18 Thu 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
169.	Sep 19 Fri 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
170.	Sep 20 Sat 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
171.	Sep 22 Mon 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
172.	Sep 23 Tue 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
173.	Sep 24 Wed 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
174.	Sep 25 Thu 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
175.	Sep 26 Fri 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*Macbeth*	
176.	Sep 27 Sat 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
177.	Sep 29 Mon 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
178.	Sep 30 Tue 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
179.	Oct 1 Wed 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
180.	Oct 2 Thu 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
181.	Oct 3 Fri 90	Sydney	Her Majesty's Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
182.	Oct 4 Sat 90	Sydney	Criterion Theatre	*Camille* Acts 3 and 4 and	
183.				*The New Magdalen* Act 2	Afternoon matinee benefit for Achurch

October 1890 to January 1891: Tour of New Zealand.

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
1891					
Tuesday 27 January 1891: Left Auckland: Travel Auckland to Sydney (by boat: *Mararoa*), arriving Sunday 1 February 1891. Tuesday 3 February 1891: Travel Sydney to Brisbane (by boat: *Burwah*), arriving Thursday 5 February 1891.					
184.	Feb 7 Sat 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	First season in Brisbane
185.	Feb 9 Mon 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
186.	Feb 10 Tue 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
187.	Feb 11 Wed 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	First performance in Brisbane
188.	Feb 12 Thu 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	
189.	Feb 13 Fri 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	
190.	Feb 14 Sat 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Masks and Faces*	
191.	Feb 16 Mon 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Masks and Faces*	
192.	Feb 17 Tue 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Masks and Faces*	
193.	Feb 18 Wed 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Devil Caresfoot*	
194.	Feb 19 Thu 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Devil Caresfoot*	
195.	Feb 20 Fri 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
196.	Feb 21 Sat 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Johnsonian Club picnic for company
197.	Feb 23 Mon 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Benefit for Achurch
Tuesday 24 February to Thursday 26 February 1891: Travel Brisbane to Sydney. Friday 27 February 1891: Travel Sydney to Melbourne.					
198.	Mar 7 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Devil Caresfoot*	Achurch's third season in Melbourne
199.	Mar 9 Mon 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Devil Caresfoot*	
200.	Mar 10 Tue 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Devil Caresfoot*	
201.	Mar 11 Wed 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Devil Caresfoot*	
202.	Mar 12 Thu 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Devil Caresfoot*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
203.	Mar 13 Fri 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Devil Caresfoot*	
204.	Mar 14 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
205.	Mar 16 Mon 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
206.	Mar 17 Tue 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
207.	Mar 18 Wed 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
208.	Mar 19 Thu 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
209.	Mar 20 Fri 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
210.	Mar 21 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
211.	Mar 23 Mon 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
212.	Mar 24 Tue 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
213.	Mar 25 Wed 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
214.	Mar 26 Thu 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	

Friday 27 March 1891: No performance: Good Friday.

215.	Mar 28 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
216.	Mar 30 Mon 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
217.	Mar 31 Tue 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
218.	Apr 1 Wed 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
219.	Apr 2 Thu 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
220.	Apr 3 Fri 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
221.	Apr 4 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Merchant of Venice*	Trial scene only: matinee benefit for blind student Matilda Aston
222.	Apr 4 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
223.	Apr 6 Mon 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
224.	Apr 7 Tue 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
225.	Apr 8 Wed 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	***A Doll's House***	Second season in Melbourne
226.	Apr 9 Thu 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	***A Doll's House***	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
227.	Apr 10 Fri 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
228.	Apr 11 Sat 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	***A Doll's House***	Advertised as *The Wager* but cancelled in favour of *Doll's House*. "At Home" on stage.
229.	Apr 13 Mon 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
230.	Apr 14 Tue 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
231.	Apr 15 Wed 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
232.	Apr 16 Thu 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
233.	Apr 17 Fri 91	Melbourne	Bijou Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	Farewell benefit for Janet
Saturday 18 April 1891: Travel Melbourne to Ballarat.					
234.	Apr 18 Sat 91	Ballarat	Academy of Music	*	Exact schedule not known but it included *Forget-me-not* and *The New Magdalen*
235.	Apr 20 Mon 91	Ballarat	Academy of Music	*	
236.	Apr 21 Tue 91	Ballarat	Academy of Music	*	
237.	Apr 22 Wed 91	Ballarat	Academy of Music	*	
238.	Apr 23 Thu 91	Ballarat	Academy of Music	***A Doll's House*** *	
239.	Apr 24 Fri 91	Ballarat	Academy of Music	***A Doll's House*** *	
Saturday 25 April 1891: Travel Ballarat to Bendigo.					
240.	Apr 25 Sat 91	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	*	Exact schedule not known but it included *Forget-me-not* and *The New Magdalen*
241.	Apr 27 Mon 91	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	*	
242.	Apr 28 Tue 91	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	*	
243.	Apr 29 Wed 91	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	*	
244.	Apr 30 Thu 91	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	***A Doll's House*** *	
245.	May 1 Fri 91	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	***A Doll's House*** *	
Saturday 2 May to Friday 8 May 1891: Travel Bendigo to Sydney.					

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
246.	May 9 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	Second season in Sydney
247.	May 11 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
248.	May 12 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
249.	May 13 Wed 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
250.	May 14 Thu 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
251.	May 15 Fri 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
252.	May 16 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
253.	May 18 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
254.	May 19 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
255.	May 20 Wed	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
256.	May 21 Thu	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
257.	May 22 Fri	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Masks and Faces*	
258.	May 23 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
259.	May 25 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
260.	May 26 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
261.	May 27 Wed 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
262.	May 28 Thu 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
263.	May 29 Fri 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
264.	May 30 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Camille*	
265.	June 1 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Camille*	
266.	June 2 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Camille*	
267.	June 3 Wed 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Camille*	
268.	June 4 Thu 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Camille*	
269.	June 5 Fri 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Camille*	
270.	June 6 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	***A Doll's House***	Second season of *Doll's House* in Sydney. Matinee benefit for Women's College Fund
271.	June 6 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
272.	June 8 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
273.	June 9 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The New Magdalen*	
274.	June 10 Wed 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The Money Spinner*	
275.	June 11 Thu 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The Money Spinner*	
276.	June 12 Fri 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The Money Spinner*	
277.	June 13 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The Money Spinner*	
278.	June 15 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The Money Spinner*	
279.	June 16 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*The Money Spinner*	
280.	June 17 Wed 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
281.	June 18 Thu 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
282.	June 19 Fri 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Forget-me-not*	
283.	June 20 Sat 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	
284.	June 22 Mon 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	
285.	June 23 Tue 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	
286.	June 24 Wed 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
287.	June 25 Thu 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	***A Doll's House***	
288.	June 26 Fri 91	Sydney	Garrick Theatre	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Benefit for Achurch

Saturday 27 June: Travel Sydney to Goulburn.
No further information available.

Travel to Wagga Wagga.
Thursday 2 July and Friday 3 July 1891: Due to play in Oddfellows Hall, Wagga Wagga but show cancelled due to floods.

Travel to Albury.

289.	Not known	Albury	Not known	Not known

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
Travel to Benalla.					
Monday 6 July 1891: Due to play in Shire Hall, Benalla, but show cancelled.					
Travel to Geelong.					
290.	July 9 Thu 91	Geelong	Not known	Not known *	
291.	July 10 Fri 91	Geelong	Not known	Not known *	
292.	July 11 Sat 91	Geelong	Not known	Not known *	
Travel to Warrnambool.					
293.	July 13 Mon 91	Warrnambool	Not known	*Forget-me-not*	
294.	July 14 Tue 91	Warrnambool	Not known	Not known	Exact schedule not known but it also
295.	July 15 Wed 91	Warrnambool	Not known	Not known	included *Doll's House* and *Camille*
296.	July 16 Wed 91	Warrnambool	Not known	Not known	
Travel to Hamilton.					
297.	Not known	Hamilton	Not known	Not known	
Travel to Broken Hill.					
298.	Aug 1 Sat 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
299.	Aug 3 Mon 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
300.	Aug 4 Tue 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
301.	Aug 5 Wed 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
302.	Aug 6 Thu 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
303.	Aug 7 Fri 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
304.	Aug 8 Sat 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Benefit for Achurch
305.	Aug 10 Mon 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	
306.	Aug 11 Tue 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	
307.	Aug 12 Wed 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
308.	Aug 13 Thu 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
309.	Aug 14 Fri 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	
310.	Aug 15 Sat 91	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	
311.	Aug 17 Mon 19	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Benefit for Achurch

Tuesday 18 August to Wednesday 19 August 1891: Travel Broken Hill to Adelaide (by express train).

312.	Aug 22 Sat 91	Adelaide	Albert Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Second season in Adelaide
313.	Aug 24 Mon 91	Adelaide	Albert Hall	***A Doll's House***	Second season of *Doll's House* in Adelaide
314.	Aug 25 Tue 91	Adelaide	Albert Hall	***Hedda Gabler***	First performance in Adelaide and Australia
315.	Aug 26 Wed 91	Adelaide	Albert Hall	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Benefit for Herbert Flemming

Saturday 29 August 1891: Travel Adelaide to Albany (by *Bullara*) – delayed from 27 August 1891.
Baggage and properties sent from Adelaide to Melbourne instead of to Albany.

316.	Sep 7 Mon 91	Albany	Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*
317.	Sep 8 Tue 91	Albany	Town Hall	*Camille*

Wednesday 9 September 1891: Travel Albany to York.

318.	Sep 10 Thu 91	York	Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*
319.	Sep 11 Fri 91	Northam	Not known	*Forget-me-not*

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
Saturday 12 September 1891: Travel to Perth (by train).					
320.	Sep 14 Mon 91	Perth	St George's Hall	*Forget-me-not*	
321.	Sep 15 Tue 91	Perth	St George's Hall	*Camille*	
322.	Sep 16 Wed 91	Perth	St George's Hall	***A Doll's House***	First performance in Perth
Thursday 17 September 1891: Travel Perth to Fremantle (by road). Alternating between Perth and Fremantle for nearly two weeks.					
323.	Sep 17 Thu 91	Fremantle	Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	
324.	Sep 18 Fri 91	Fremantle	Town Hall	*Camille*	
325.	Sep 19 Sat 91	Fremantle	Town Hall	***A Doll's House***	First performance in Fremantle
326.	Sep 21 Mon 91	Perth	St George's Hall	*The New Magdalen*	
327.	Sep 22 Tue 91	Perth	St George's Hall	***Hedda Gabler***	Only performance in Perth, and second in Australia
328.	Sep 23 Wed 91	Perth	St George's Hall	*Forget-me-not*	*Adrienne Lecouvreur* cancelled: Flemming influenza. Benefit for Achurch.
329.	Sep 24 Thu 91	Fremantle	Town Hall	*The New Magdalen*	
Friday 25 September 1891: Travel Fremantle to York (by train).					
330.	Sep 25 Fri 91	York	Town Hall	Not known	
Saturday 26 September 1891: Travel to Albany.					
331.	Sep 28 Mon 91	Albany	Town Hall	*The New Magdalen*	
332.	Sep 29 Tue 91	Albany	Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
Sunday 4 October 1891: Travel Albany to Adelaide (by *Oroya*).					
Wednesday 7 October 1891: Travel Adelaide to Melbourne (by train), arriving Thursday 8 October 1891.					
Thursday 8 October 1891: Travel Melbourne to Launceston (by *Pateena*), arriving Friday 9 October 1891.					
Friday 9 October 1891: Travel Launceston to Hobart (by mail).					
333.	Oct 10 Sat 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
334.	Oct 12 Mon 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
335.	Oct 13 Tue 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
336.	Oct 14 Wed 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	Only performance in Hobart
337.	Oct 15 Thu 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	
338.	Oct 16 Fri 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
339.	Oct 17 Sat 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
340.	Oct 19 Mon 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
341.	Oct 20 Tue 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	***Hedda Gabler***	Only performance in Hobart, and third in Australia
342.	Oct 21 Wed 91	Hobart	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand* and	
343.				*A Ladies' Battle*	
Thursday 22 October 1891: Travel Hobart to Launceston.					
344.	Oct 22 Thu 91	Launceston	Academy of Music	*Forget-me-not*	
345.	Oct 23 Fri 91	Launceston	Academy of Music	*Camille*	
346.	Oct 24 Sat 91	Launceston	Academy of Music	***A Doll's House***	
Monday 26 October 1891: Travel Launceston to Melbourne (by *Rotomahana*).					
Tuesday 27 October to Wednesday 28 October 1891: Travel Melbourne to Sydney.					
Wednesday 28 October to Friday 20 October 1891: Travel Sydney to Brisbane (by *Wodonga*).					

	Date	Place	Theatre	Play	Additional information
347.	Oct 31 Sat 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	
348.	Nov 2 Mon 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
349.	Nov 3 Tue 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
350.	Nov 4 Wed 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand* and	
351.				*A Ladies' Battle*	
352.	Nov 5 Thu 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
353.	Nov 6 Fri 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	***Hedda Gabler***	Fourth and final in Australia
354.	Nov 7 Sat 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Camille*	
355.	Nov 9 Mon 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	
356.	Nov 10 Tue 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*The New Magdalen*	
357.	Nov 11 Wed 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	
358.	Nov 12 Thu 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	*Written in Sand* and	
359.				*A Ladies' Battle*	
360.	Nov 13 Fri 91	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	***A Doll's House***	Second season in Brisbane, and final in Australia. Farewell benefit for Achurch

Saturday 14 November to early December 1891: Travel from Brisbane by *Tara* to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), then to Calcutta (India), opening in the Corinthian Theatre 26 December 1891 in *A Doll's House*.
Travel from Calcutta to Cairo (Egypt). Baby still-born.
Travel from Cairo to England, arriving to open at the Avenue Theatre on 19 April 1892 in *A Doll's House*.

B. PRÉCIS OF ITINERARY

London, England

Australia

1.	Victoria	Melbourne: New Princess's, then Theatre Royal
2.	South Australia	Adelaide
3.	Victoria	Melbourne
4.	New South Wales	Sydney: Criterion, then Her Majesty's

New Zealand

Australia

5.	Queensland	Brisbane
6.	Victoria	Melbourne, Ballarat, and Bendigo
7.	New South Wales	Sydney, Goulburn, Wagga Wagga, Albury
8.	Victoria	Geelong, Warrnambool, and Hamilton
9.	New South Wales	Broken Hill
10.	South Australia	Adelaide
11.	Western Australia	Albany, York, Northam, Perth, Fremantle, Perth, Fremantle, York, and Albany
12.	Tasmania	Hobart and Launceston
13.	Queensland	Brisbane

India
Egypt
England

C. PRÉCIS OF REPERTOIRE
1. In alphabetical order and including roles played by Janet Achurch

	Play	Janet Achurch's Role
1.	*A Doll's House*	Nora Helmer
2.	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Adrienne Lecouvreur
3.	*A Ladies' Battle*	Countess
4.	*As in a Looking Glass*[#]	
5.	*Camille*	Marguerite (Camille)
6.	*Devil Caresfoot*	Angela
7.	*Fédora*	Fédora
8.	*Forget-me-not*	Stephanie de Mohrivart
9.	*Frou-Frou*	Gilberte (Frou-Frou)
10.	*Hedda Gabler*	Hedda Gabler
11.	*The House on the Marsh*	Violet Christie
12.	*In His Power*	Marie
13.	*Led Astray*	Countess Chandoce
14.	*Macbeth*	Lady Macbeth
15.	*Masks and Faces*	Peg Woffington
16.	*The Merchant of Venice*	Portia
17.	*The Money Spinner*	Millicent Croodle
18.	*The New Magdalen*	Mercy Merrick
19.	*Othello* – selections	Desdemona
20.	*Pygmalion and Galatea*	Galatea
21.	*Romeo and Juliet* – selections	Juliet
22.	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Mrs Sternbold
23.	*That Doctor Cupid*	Kate Constant
24.	*Two Nights in Rome*	Antonia
25.	*Written in Sand*	

[#] There is doubt of performance

C. PRÉCIS OF REPERTOIRE

2. In chronological order and including total number of performances, and dates and places of first and last performance

	Play	Performances	First performance	Place	Last performance	Place
1.	*A Doll's House*	53	Sat 14 Sep 1889	Melbourne	Fri 13 Nov 1891	Brisbane
2.	*The New Magdalen*	42	Sat 28 Sep 1889	Melbourne	Tue 10 Nov 1891	Brisbane
3.	*Written in Sand*	13	Sat 12 Oct 1889	Melbourne	Thu 12 Nov 1891	Brisbane
4.	*Pygmalion and Galatea*	9	Sat 12 Oct 1889	Melbourne	Tue 19 Nov 1889	Adelaide
5.	*The Merchant of Venice*	11	Sat 19 Oct 1889	Melbourne	Tue 26 Nov 1889	Adelaide
6.	*Led Astray*	8	Sat 26 Oct 1889	Melbourne	Fri 29/11/1889	Adelaide
7.	*In His Power*	5	Wed 20 Nov 1889	Adelaide	Thu 5 Dec 1889	Adelaide
8.	*The House on the Marsh*^	3	Sat 30 Nov 1889	Adelaide	Tue 3 Dec 1889	Adelaide
9.	*Othello* – selections for benefit	1	Fri 6 Dec 1889	Adelaide		
10.	*Romeo and Juliet* – selections for benefit	1	Fri 6 Dec 1889	Adelaide		
11.	*That Doctor Cupid*^	21	Thu 26 Dec 1889	Melbourne	Sat 18 Jan 1890	Melbourne
12.	*Two Nights in Rome*^	13	Sat 15 Feb 1890	Melbourne	Sat 29 Feb 1890	Melbourne
13.	*As in a Looking Glass*[#]	1	Sat 19 Apr 1891	Melbourne		
14.	*Frou-Frou*^	18	Sat 26 July 1890	Sydney	Fri 15 Aug 1890	Sydney
15.	*Fédora*^	12	Sat 16 Aug 1890	Sydney	Fri 29 Aug 1890	Sydney
16.	*Macbeth*^	18	Sat 6 Sep 1890	Sydney	Fri 26 Sep 1890	Sydney
17.	*Camille* – first staging: Acts 3 and 4 for benefit	20	Sat 4 Oct 1890	Sydney	Sat 7 Nov 1891	Brisbane
18.	*Forget-me-not*	44	Sat 7 Feb 1891	Brisbane	Mon 9 Nov 1891	Brisbane
19.	*Masks and Faces*	24	Fri 14 Feb 1891	Brisbane	Fri 22 May 1891	Sydney
20.	*Devil Caresfoot*	8	Wed 18 Feb 1891	Brisbane	Fri 13 Mar 1891	Melbourne
21.	*The Money Spinner*	6	Wed 10 June 1891	Sydney	Tue 16 June 1891	Sydney
22.	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	5	Sat 20 June 1891	Sydney	Sat 31 Oct 1891	Brisbane
23.	*Still Waters Run Deep*	6	Fri 14 Aug 1891	Broken Hill	Wed 11 Nov 1891	Brisbane
24.	*Hedda Gabler*	4	Tue 25 Aug 1891	Adelaide	Fri 6 Nov 1891	Brisbane
25.	*A Ladies' Battle* (aka *The Ladies' Battle)*	3	Wed 21 Oct 1891	Hobart	Wed 4 Nov 1891	Brisbane
	Unknown	11				
	Total performances	360				

^ Each of these plays had only one straight run. [#] There is doubt of performance.

D. PRÉCIS OF PERFORMANCES OF *A DOLL'S HOUSE* AND *HEDDA GABLER*

	Place	Theatre	Dates	Performances	
A Doll's House					
1.	Melbourne	New Princess's	Sat 14 Sep to Fri 27 Sep 1889	12	
2.	Adelaide	Theatre Royal	Sat 7 Dec to Tue 10 Dec 1889	3	
3.	Sydney	Criterion	Sat 12 July to Fri 25 Jul 1890	12	
4.	Sydney	Criterion	Sat 23 Aug 1890	1	
5.	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	Wed 11 Feb to Fri 13 Feb 1891	3	
6.	Melbourne	Bijou	Wed 8 Apr to Tue 14 Apr 1891	6	
7.	Ballarat	Academy of Music	Thu 23 Apr to Fri 24 Apr 1891	2	
8.	Bendigo	Royal Princess Theatre	Thu 30 Apr to Fri 1 May 1891	2	
9.	Sydney	Garrick	Sat 6 June 1891	1	
10.	Sydney	Garrick	Wed 24 June to Thu 25 June 1891	2	
11.	Warrnambool	Not known	Between Mon 13 and Thu 16 July 1891	1	
12.	Broken Hill	Theatre Royal	Mon 10 Aug to Tue 11 Aug 1891	2	
13.	Adelaide	Albert Hall	Mon 24 Aug 1891	1	
14.	Perth	St George's Hall	Wed 16 Sep 1891	1	
15.	Fremantle	Town Hall	Sat 19 Sep 1891	1	
16.	Hobart	Theatre Royal	Wed 14 Oct 1891	1	
17.	Launceston	Academy of Music	Sat 24 Oct 1891	1	
18.	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	Fri 13 Nov 1891	1	Total 53 performances
Hedda Gabler					
1.	Adelaide	Albert Hall	Tue 25 Aug 1891	1	
2.	Perth	St George's Hall	Tue 22 Sep 1891	1	
3.	Hobart	Theatre Royal	Tue 20 Oct 1891	1	
4.	Brisbane	Theatre Royal	Fri 6 Nov 1891	1	Total 4 performances

E. PRÉCIS OF THEATRES
In chronological order

	Theatre	Place		Theatre	Place
1.	New Princess's Theatre	Melbourne	16.	Not known	Warrnambool
2.	Theatre Royal	Melbourne	17.	Theatre Royal	Broken Hill
3.	Theatre Royal	Adelaide	18.	Albert Hall	Adelaide
4.	New Princess's Theatre	Melbourne	19.	Town Hall	Albany
5.	Theatre Royal	Melbourne	20.	Town Hall	York
6.	Criterion Theatre	Sydney	21.	Not known	Northam
7.	Her Majesty's Theatre	Sydney	22.	St George's Hall	Perth
8.	Theatre Royal	Brisbane	23.	Town Hall	Fremantle
9.	Bijou Theatre	Melbourne	24.	St George's Hall	Perth
10.	Academy of Music	Ballarat	25.	Town Hall	Fremantle
11.	Royal Princess Theatre	Bendigo	26.	Town Hall	York
12.	Garrick Theatre	Sydney	27.	Town Hall	Albany
13.	Not known	Albury	28.	Theatre Royal	Hobart
14.	Not known	Geelong	29.	Academy of Music	Launceston
15.	Not known	Hamilton	30.	Theatre Royal	Brisbane

APPENDIX 3

COMPANY: CAST, SUPERNUMERARIES, AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL

CONTENTS **Page**

Note:
Details of company and cast members have been drawn from advertisements and reviews.
Names:

- Full or complete names of individuals are not always available.
- Spellings vary at times. Correct spellings have been located where possible. Where not possible, the variations are shown.

Source of Information:
Information in this appendix was drawn from newspaper advertisements, reviews, notices, and other items through Trove, the National Library of Australia digital archive, between 2010 and 2013, at http://trove.nla.gov.au.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/

A. CAST MEMBERS BY PRODUCTION
In alphabetical order

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
September 1889 Melbourne: New Princess's	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Madge Herrick Miss Fannie Musgrove Miss Lilly White (child) Miss Maud Williamson	Mr Atkinson Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming H.H. Vincent Baby Nicholls (child)	Master Stephens (child)
September-October 1889 Melbourne: New Princess's	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Mrs Edouin Bryer Miss Maud Williamson	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	
October 1889 Melbourne: Royal	*Written in Sand*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Maud Appleton Miss Maud Williamson	Wilmott Eyre Herbert Flemming Owen Harris	
October 1889 Melbourne: New Princess's	*Pygmalion and Galatea*	Miss Janet Achurch Mrs Walter Hill Miss Maud Williamson	Charles Charrington Frederick Neebe	
October 1889 Melbourne: Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Ida Heath Miss Aggie Kelton Miss Mansfield Miss Maud Williamson	Charles Charrington Mr Bates Alfred Bucklaw William Calvert W.F. Clitherow Wilmott Eyre J. Fearless Herbert Flemming	Mr Gribber[t] Frederick Neebe Owen Harris G.R. Ireland E.B. Russell Edward Sass James Stevenson J.B. Westmacott

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
October-November 1889 Melbourne: Royal	*Led Astray*	Miss Janet Achurch Mrs Edouin Bryer Mrs Hydes Miss Aggie Kelton Miss Maud Williamson	Alfred Bucklaw Owen Harris R.W. Royce Edward Sass James Stevenson	
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Madge Herrick Miss Maud Williamson	William J. Beresford Charles Charrington W.F. Clitherow	Wilson Forbes Hans Phillips
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Written in Sand*	Miss Janet Achurch		
November 1889 Adelaide Theatre Royal	*Pygmalion and Galatea*	Miss Maud Appleton Miss Janet Achurch Mrs James Stevenson Miss Maud Williamson	Charles Charrington	
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*In His Power*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Maud Williamson	William J. Beresford Charles Charrington W.F. Clitherow	Herbert Flemming Wilson Forbes Hans Phillips
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	Miss Maud Appleton Miss Janet Achurch Miss Maud Williamson	A. Benbow William J. Beresford Charles Charrington Dave Clinton W.F. Clitherow Bertram Cooke	Herbert Flemming Wilson Forbes Mr Johns Frederick Neebe Hans Phillips C. Smithson

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Led Astray*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Maud Appleton Miss Maud Williamson	Charles Charrington W.F. Clitherow Herbert Flemming	Hans Phillips
November-December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*The House on the Marsh*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Maud Appleton Miss Maud Williamson	William J. Beresford Charles Charrington W.F. Clitherow	Herbert Flemming
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*In His Power*			
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Written in Sand*	Miss Janet Achurch	Herbert Flemming	
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Othello* (selection)	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Maud Williamson	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Hans Phillips	
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Romeo and Juliet* (selection)	Miss Janet Achurch	Herbert Flemming	
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Sophie Fife (child) Miss Rose Smith (child) Miss Maud Williamson Miss Wilson (child)	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Wilson Forbes	

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
December 1889-Jan 1890 Melbourne: New Princess's	*That Doctor Cupid*	Mrs T. Bolton Mrs Edouin Bryer Miss Janet Achurch Miss Helen Kinnaird	William Beresford Thomas Bolton William Elton Herbert Flemming	H.R. Harwood Hans Phillips Edward Sass
February 1890 Melbourne: New Princess's	*Two Nights in Rome*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Clara Cowper Miss Louie Emery Miss Emma Gwynne Miss Helen Kinnaird	Thomas Bolton Alfred Bucklaw J.H. Clyndes Wilson Forbes George Melville	Mr Musgrave Hans Phillips Gerald Moore R.W. Royce Edward Sass
April 1890 Melbourne: Royal Note: There is doubt that Achurch took part in this performance	*As in a Looking Glass*[#]	Miss Janet Achurch	Harry Rickards	
July 1890 Sydney: Criterion	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Fanny Enson Miss Bethel Hamilton Mrs D'Arcy Read Miss F. Ross Miss Stephens Miss Albion White	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming H. Hines Mr G.S. Titheradge	
July-August 1890 Sydney: Criterion	*Frou-Frou*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Fanny Enson Miss Kate Howarde Miss Alice May Miss Nita Steele	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming H. Hines G.S. Titheradge R.E. Watson	

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
		Miss Albion White	J.P. West	
August 1890 Sydney: Criterion	*Fédora*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Fanny Enson Rose Hawthorne Miss Kate Howarde Miss Alice May	B. Beauchamp H. Bennett Charles Charrington Brian England Herbert Flemming H. Hines	Harry Leston H. North G.S. Titheradge R.E. Watson J.J. Welch J.P. West
September 1890 Sydney: Her Majesty's	*Macbeth*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Violet Aston Miss Bessie Colville Miss Maribel Greenwood Miss Tess Hartley Miss Frances Hastings	Frank Ayrton Charles Burford Charles Charrington Brian England J. Fitzmaurice Herbert Flemming F. Forster A.E. Greenaway Frank Harcourt J.W. Haslitt Guyton Heath Henry Hoyte A.J. Iveméy	H.R. Jewell A. Llewellyn H. Middleton Harry Moss Oliphant Arthur Rigby George Rignold Smith J.W. Sweeney Stirling Joe Tolano Whyte Stirling Whyte
September-October 1890 Sydney: Her Majesty's	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Mabel Tracey Miss Roland Watts-Phillips	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Frank Harcourt	Stirling Whyte

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
October 1890 Sydney: Her Majesty's	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch		
October 1890-February 1891: New Zealand				
February 1891 Brisbane Theatre Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Helen Kinnaird Miss Alice Norton	Charles Charrington Harold Chichester Harry Power	
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May Miss Alice Norton	Charles Charrington Harold Chichester Herbert Flemming	
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Masks and Faces*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Helen Kinnaird	Charles Charrington Harold Chichester Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Devil Caresfoot*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Helen Kinnaird Miss Alice Norton	Charles Charrington Harold Chichester Herbert Flemming	Harry Power
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Helen Kinnaird Miss Alice May Miss Alice Norton	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Helen Kinnaird Miss Alice Norton	Charles Charrington	
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington	
March 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Devil Caresfoot*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Lillie Bryer Mrs Edwin Palmer	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming George Hines H. Hoyte	William H. Leake George Leitch Harry Power
March 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Emma Bronton Miss Janet Achurch Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming George Leitch	
March-April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Masks & Faces*	Miss Athelstane Miss Emma Bronton Miss Janet Achurch Miss Nellie Greenlees	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming E. Gladstone E.D. Haygarth	George Leitch Eille Norwood E.B. Russell
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*The Merchant of Venice*	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch		

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Ballarat: Academy of Music	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Ballarat: Academy of Music	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Ballarat: Academy of Music	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Bendigo: Royal Princess	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Bendigo: Royal Princess	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch		
April 1891 Bendigo: Royal Princess	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch		
May 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Masks and Faces*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming H. Harries Owen Harris	William Holman George Leitch Eille Norwood Harry Power

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
May 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming W. Holland	George Leitch
May-June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Fortescue Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming W. Holland George Leitch Harry Leston	Harry Power J.B. Westmacott
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch		
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Mr Harris W. Holland	Gerald Moore Harry Power J.B. Westmacott
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*The Money-Spinner*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Edwards Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Mr Cosgrove Herbert Flemming Mr Harris	W. Holland H.R. Jewett Harry Power
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Meta Pelham	Herbert Flemming Mr Cosgrove W. Holland	Harry Power
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Gwyn Dallas Miss Edwards Miss Fortescue Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Mr Harris William Holman Gerald Moore Harry Power Putnam	Master Whyte
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Emma Bronton Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham Miss Lalla Poole (child) Miss Albion Whyte (child)	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming W. Holland Mr Eille Norwood	
July 1891 Warrnambool: not known	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch		
July 1891 Warrnambool: not known	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
July 1891 Warrnambool: not known	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch		

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May Miss M. Sharpe	Mr Bertland Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	Mr Holmes Harry Power
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch Mrs Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Miss Janet Achurch	Peter Ryan and other amateurs from Amateur Dramatic Company	
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Mr Harris	W. Holland Harry Power
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	***Hedda Gabler***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May Miss Laura Stanley	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Mr Ferguson Herbert Flemming	Harry Power Amateurs
September 1891 Albany: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
September 1891 Albany: Town Hall	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	
September 1891 York: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
September 1891 Northam: not known	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Mrs Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch Mrs Bolton Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch	
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch	
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	***Hedda Gabler***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May Miss Laura Stanley	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington Harry Power	
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington Harry Power	
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Miss Janet Achurch		
September 1891 Albany: Town Hall	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch		
September 1891 Albany: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch		
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington	
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming W. Holland	Harry Power
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming W. Holland	Harry Power

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Powers	
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May Miss Meta Pelham		
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch		
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch		
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	***Hedda Gabler***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Written in Sand*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*A Ladies' Battle*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington T. Bishop Herbert Flemming	Harry Power

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors	
October 1891 Launceston: Academy of Music	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
October 1891 Launceston: Academy of Music	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
October 1891 Launceston: Academy of Music	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
October 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*A Ladies' Battle*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Mr Bolton Herbert Flemming	Harry Power

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Actresses	Actors
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Written in Sand*	Miss Janet Achurch	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Camille*	Miss Janet Achurch	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	***Hedda Gabler***	Miss Janet Achurch	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming Harry Power
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Written in Sand*	Miss Janet Achurch	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*A Ladies' Battle*	Miss Janet Achurch	
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Miss Janet Achurch Miss Alice Bolton Miss Alice May	Charles Charrington Herbert Flemming

B. CAST MEMBERS MASTER LIST

1. Achurch, Miss Janet
2. Appleton, Miss Maud
3. Athelstane, Miss
4. Bolton, Miss Alice
5. Bolton, Mrs T.
6. Bronton, Miss Emma
7. Bryer, Mrs Edouin
8. Bryer, Miss Lillie
9. Cowper, Miss Clara
10. Dallas, Miss Gwyn
11. Edwards, Miss
12. Emery, Miss Louie
13. Enson, Miss Fanny
14. Fife, Sophie (child)
15. Fortescue, Miss
16. Greenlees, Miss Nellie
17. Gwynne, Miss Emma
18. Hamilton, Miss Bethel
19. Hawthorne, Rose
20. Heath, Miss Ida
21. Herrick, Miss Madge
22. Howarde, Miss Kate
23. Hydes, Mrs
24. Kelton, Miss Aggie
25. Kinnaird, Miss Helen
26. Mansfield, Miss
27. May, Miss Alice
28. Musgrove, Miss Fannie
29. Norton, Miss Alice
30. Palmer, Mrs Edwin
31. Pelham, Miss Meta
32. Poole, Miss Lalla (child)
33. Read, Mrs D'Arcy
34. Ross, Miss F.
35. Sharpe, Miss M.
36. Smith, Miss Rose (child)
37. Stanley, Miss Laura
38. Steele, Miss Nita
39. Stephens, Miss
40. Stevenson, Mrs James
41. Tracey, Miss Mabel
42. Watts-Phillips, Miss Roland
43. White, Miss Albion (child)
44. White, Miss Lilly (child)
45. Williamson, Miss Maud
46. Wilson, Miss (child)

47. Atkinson
48. Bates
49. Beauchamp, B.
50. Benbow, A.
51. Bennett, H.
52. Beresford, William J.
53. Bertland
54. Bishop, T.
55. Bolton, Thomas
56. Bucklaw, Alfred
57. Calvert, William
58. Charrington, Charles
59. Chichester, Harold
60. Clinton, Dave
61. Clitherow, W.F.
62. Clyndes, J.H.
63. Cooke, Bertram
64. Cosgrove
65. Elton, William
66. England, Brian
67. Eyre, Wilmott
68. Fearless, J.
69. Ferguson
70. Flemming, Herbert
71. Forbes, Wilson
72. Gladstone, E.
73. Gribber[t]
74. Harcourt, Frank
75. Harri[e]s H.
76. Harris, Owen
77. Harwood, H.R.
78. Haygarth, E.D.
79. Hill, Walter
80. Hines, George
81. Hines, H.
82. Holland, W.
83. Holman, William
84. Hoyte, H.
85. Ireland, G.R.
86. Jewett, H.R.
87. Johns
88. Leake, William H.
89. Leitch, George
90. Leston, Harry
91. Melville, George
92. Moore, Gerald
93. Musgrave
94. Neebe, Frederick
95. Nicholls, Baby (child)
96. North, H.
97. Norwood, Eille
98. Phillips, Hans
99. Power, Harry
100. Putnam
101. Royce, R.W.
102. Russell, E.B.
103. Sass, Edward
104. Smithson, C.
105. Stephens, Master (child)
106. Titheradge, G.S.
107. Vincent, H.H.
108. Watson, R.E.
109. Welch, J.J.
110. West, J.P.
111. Westmacott, J.B.
112. Whyte
113. Whyte, Stirling

The additional actors and actresses for the productions of *Macbeth* have not been included in this master list because the play was not staged by the Achurch-Charrington Company but by George Rignold by arrangement with Charles Charrington.

C. SUPERNUMERARIES AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL BY PRODUCTION

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
September 1889 Melbourne: New Princess's	***A Doll's House***	Nicholson's Music Warehouse Mr W. Robins Wallach Bros John Brunton	Box plan and bookings Composer: overture, tarantella Furnishings and appointments Scenery
September-October 1889 Melbourne: New Princess's	*The New Magdalen*	Nicholson's Music Warehouse Davis's Wallach Bros George Gordon	Box plan and bookings Day tickets Furnishings and appointments Scenery
October 1889 Melbourne: New Princess's	*Pygmalion and Galatea*	Nicholson's Music Warehouse George Gordon	Box plan and bookings Scenery
October 1889 Melbourne: Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	Chorus ladies and gentlemen, ballet ladies, extra ladies, children, supers	Support cast
October-November 1889 Melbourne: Royal	*Led Astray*	George Gordon John Brunton	Scenery Scenery
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Woodman's Hayman Bros. Armbruster's	Box plan Day tickets Day tickets

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Pygmalion and Galatea*		
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*In His Power*		
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*The Merchant of Venice*	Woodman's Hayman Bros. Armbruster's George Gordon, John Brunton Theatre Royal Glee Party Marie Riddell	Box plan Day tickets Day tickets Scenery Vocal music Dance arrangement
November 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Led Astray*	Woodman's Hayman Bros. Armbruster's	Box plan Day tickets Day tickets
November-December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*The House on the Marsh*		
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*In His Power*		
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	*Written in Sand, Othello,* and *Romeo and Juliet*		
December 1889 Adelaide: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Woodman's	Box plan

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
December 1889-Jan 1890 Melbourne: New Princess's	*That Doctor Cupid*	Nicholson's Davis's George Gordon Messrs Nathan of London Wallach Bros	Box plan Day tickets Scenery Costumes Furnishings and appointments
February 1890 Melbourne: New Princess's	*Two Nights in Rome*	George Gordon Wallach Bros	Scenery Furnishings and appointments
April 1890 Melbourne: Royal	*As in a Looking Glass*		
July 1890 Sydney: Criterion	***A Doll's House***	Children Nicholson's Hedley Churchward George Hall	 Box plan Scenery Composer, overture and tarantella; director of orchestra
July-August 1890 Sydney: Criterion	*Frou-Frou*	Nicholson's Hedley Churchward David Jones & Co.	Box plan Scenery Dressmaking to Paris designs
August 1890 Sydney: Criterion	*Fédora*	Nicholson's	Box plan
September 1890 Sydney: Her Majesty's	*Macbeth*	Frank Eugarde Alfred Clint A. Fletcher, W. Osborne, and H. Dudley Professor Thompson	Music Scenery Mechanical effects Limelight effects

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
		B. Phillips	Barbaric implements of war; ingenious props
		Mr Buckley	Costumer maker
		Arthur Frederics	Costume designer
		Edward Huntly	Engineer
October 1890-February 1891: New Zealand			
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Beale & Co's Alhambra Music Hall Libertz & Co., London The Liedertafel	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies Vocal music
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Beale & Co's Alhambra Theatre	Box plan Day tickets
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Masks and Faces*	Beale & Co's Alhambra Theatre	Box plan Day tickets
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Devil Caresfoot*	Beale & Co's Alhambra Theatre	Box plan Day tickets
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Camille*		
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*The New Magdalen*		
February 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Beale & Co's Alhambra Theatre	Box plan Day tickets

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
March 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Devil Caresfoot*	Glen's Music Warehouse Walter B. Spong, Hedley Churchward Mr W. Gardiner Wallach's, London "English and Australian Artists"	Box plan Scenery Props Carved oak furniture Cast
March 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Forget-me-not*	Glen's Music Warehouse Walter B. Spong, Hedley Churchward Mr W. Gardiner Wallach's, London "Men with bass voices" [advertised]	Box plan Scenery Props Art, furniture, draperies
March-April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Masks and Faces*	Glen's Music Warehouse W.B. Spong, Hedley Churchward Wallach's, London	Box plan Scenery Art, furniture, draperies
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	***A Doll's House***	Glen's Music Warehouse Wallach's, London	Box plan Art, furniture, draperies
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*The New Magdalen*		
April 1891 Melbourne: Bijou	*Forget-me-not*		
May 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Masks and Faces*	Mr W.J. Wilson	New scenery
May 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Forget-me-not*	Mr W.J. Wilson	New scenery

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
May-June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Camille*	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel Browne & Co., Hunter St	Box plan Day tickets Art, furniture, tapestries, articles of vertu
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	***A Doll's House***	Nicholson's	Box plan
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*The New Magdalen*	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel Browne & Co.	Box plan Day tickets Art, furniture, tapestries, articles of vertu
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*The Money-Spinner*	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel	Box plan Day tickets
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	***A Doll's House***	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel	Box plan Day tickets
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Forget-me-not*	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel	Box plan Day tickets
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel Mr. Wilson	Box plan Day tickets Scenery
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	***A Doll's House***	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel	Box plan Day tickets
June 1891 Sydney: Garrick	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Nicholson's Garrick Hotel	Box plan Day tickets

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
July 1891 Warrnambool: not known	***A Doll's House***		
July 1891 Warrnambool: not known	*Forget-me-not*		
July 1891 Warrnambool: not known	*Camille*		
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Wight's	Box plan
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*Camille*	Wight's	Box plan
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Wight's	Box plan
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Wight's	Box plan
August 1891 Broken Hill: Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Wight's	Box plan
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Marshall & Sons Armbruster's Charles Cawthorne	Box plan Day tickets Conductor of orchestra

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	***A Doll's House***	Marshall & Sons Armbruster's Charles Cawthorne	Box plan Day tickets Conductor of orchestra
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	***Hedda Gabler***	Marshall & Sons Armbruster's Charles Cawthorne	Box plan Day tickets Conductor of orchestra
August 1891 Adelaide: Albert Hall	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Marshall & Sons Armbruster's Charles Cawthorne	Box plan Day tickets Conductor of orchestra
September 1891 Albany: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*		
September 1891 Albany: Town Hall	*Camille*		
September 1891 York: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*		
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Sands & McDougall's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Graves	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*Camille*	Sands & McDougall's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Graves	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	***A Doll's House***	Sands & McDougall's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Graves	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Stein's	Box plan
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*Camille*	Stein's	Box plan
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	***A Doll's House***	Stein's	Box plan
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*The New Magdalen*	Sands & McDougall's Mrs Graves	Box plan Furniture
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	***Hedda Gabler***	Sands & McDougall's Mrs Graves	Box plan Furniture
September 1891 Perth: St George's Hall	*Forget-me-not*	Sands & McDougall's Mrs Graves	Box plan Furniture
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*The New Magdalen*		
September 1891 Fremantle: Town Hall	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*		

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mr Brown	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Music
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Camille*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Camille*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	***Hedda Gabler***	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Hobart: Royal	*Written in Sand* *A Ladies' Battle*	Susman's Liberty & Co., London Mrs Turner	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies Furniture
October 1891 Launceston: Academy of Music	*Forget-me-not*	Walch Bros Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies
October 1891 Launceston: Academy of Music	*Camille*	Walch Bros Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies
October 1891 Launceston: Academy of Music	***A Doll's House***	Walch Bros Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Art, furnishings, draperies
October-November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Adrienne Lecouvreur*	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Forget-me-not*	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London Brisbane Liedertafel	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies

Date, Place, and Theatre	Play	Person or Firm	Provision
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*The New Magdalen*	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Written in Sand* and *A Ladies' Battle*	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Camille*	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	***Hedda Gabler***	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	*Still Waters Run Deep*	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies
November 1891 Brisbane: Royal	***A Doll's House***	Paling's Morrison's Liberty & Co., London	Box plan Day tickets Art, furnishings, draperies

APPENDIX 4

NEW WOMAN PLAYS

CONTENTS **Page**

A. NEW WOMAN PLAYS BY AUTHOR

	Author	Title	Year	Other Information
1.	Anonymous	*Fanny's First Play*	1911	Author is G.B. Shaw
2.	Baker, Elizabeth	*Chains*	1909	
3.	Barrie, J[ames] M[atthew]	*The Twelve Pound Look*	1910	
4.	Bell, Florence Eveleen Eleanore and Robins, Elizabeth	*Alan's Wife*	1893	
5.	Butler, Richard and Newton, Henry Chase	*The Newest Woman*	1895	Under pseudonym Henry Richard
6.	Gilbert, W[illiam] S[chwenck]	*Utopia Limited*	1893	Music by Arthur Sullivan
7.	Granville-Barker, Harley	*The Madras House* *The Marrying of Ann Leete* *The Voysey Inheritance*	1910 1902 1905	
8.	Grundy, Sydney	*The New Woman*	1894	
9.	Hamilton, Cicely	*Diana of Dobson's* *A Pageant of Great Women*	1908 1909	
10.	Hamilton, Cicely and St John, Christopher Marie	*How the Vote was Won*	1909	

	Author	Title	Year	Other Information
11.	Hankin, St John	*The Last of the De Mullins*	1908	
		The Return of the Prodigal	1905	
	Henry, Richard			Pseudonym of H.C. Newton and R. Butler: see Butler, R.: *The Newest Woman*
12.	Houghton, Stanley	*Hindle Wakes*	1912–13	
13.	Ibsen, Henrik	*A Doll's House*	1879	
		Hedda Gabler	1890	
		Rosmersholm	1886	
14.	Jones, Henry Arthur	*The Case of Rebellious Susan*	1894	
15.	Nevinson, Margaret	*In the Workhouse*	1911	
16.	Newton, Henry Chase			See Butler, R.
17.	Pinero, Arthur Wing	*The Amazons*	1893 or 1895	
		The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith	1895	
		The Second Mrs. Tanqueray	1894	
		The Weaker Sex	1888	
18.	Robins, Elizabeth	*Votes for Women!*	1907	Also *Alan's Wife*: see Bell, F.E.E.
19.	Shaw, George Bernard	*Major Barbara*	1905	Also *Fanny's First Play* as Anonymous
		Man and Superman	1905	
		Mrs. Warren's Profession	1893	

	Author	Title	Year	Other Information
		The Philanderer	1893	
		Press Cuttings	1909	
20.	Sowerby, Githa	*Rutherford and Son*	1912	
21.	St John, Christopher Marie			Pseudonym for Christabel Marshall: see Hamilton, C.: *How the Vote was Won*
22.	Strindberg, August	*Miss Julie*	1888	
23.	Todhunter, John	*The Black Cat*	?	
		A Comedy of Sighs	1894	
24.	Wells, Herbert George	*Anne Veronica*	?	

B. NEW WOMAN PLAYS BY TITLE

	Title	Year	Author	Other Information*	Authority (Source)	Page/s
* Information provided by the different authorities is sometimes conflicting, for example years of publication or dates of first performance. Authority names are in alphabetical order within each item.						
1.	*Alan's Wife*	1893	Bell, Florence Eveleen Eleanore & Robins, Elizabeth	1st UK 2.5.1893 Terry's Theatre, London; sympathetic to New Woman (NW)	Fitz. & Gardner 1991	8
2.	*The Amazons*	1893 1895	Pinero, Arthur Wing	Makes sport of girls seeking emancipation Pub. 1895 Heinemann London; antipathetic	Chothia 1998 Gardner 1992	x 4, 8, 14
3.	*Anne Veronica*		Wells, Herbert George		Gardner 1992	7
4.	*The Black Cat*		Todhunter, John	NW ultimately suicides	Gardner 1992	9
5.	*The Case of Rebellious Susan*	1894	Jones, Henry Arthur	NW Elaine raw, assertive; paired with effete man 1st UK 1894 Criterion Antipathetic Woman transgressor pays higher price than man for same 'crime'	Chothia 1998 Chothia 1998 Gardner 1992 Howells 1900	xi xxxv 4, 8, 14 209
6.	*Chains*	1909	Baker, Elizabeth	1st UK 1910 Court, Duke of York's 1st UK 18.4.1909 Court Theatre, London; sympathetic 1st UK 18.4.1909	Chothia Fitz. & Gardner 1991 Stowell 1992	xxxvi 86 166
7.	*A Comedy of Sighs*	1894	Todhunter, John	1st UK 1894 Vaudeville Theatre, London	Chothia 1998	xxxv
8.	*Diana of Dobson's*	1908	Hamilton, Cicely	1st UK 1908 Kingsway, Lena Ashwell season 1st UK 12.2.1908 Kingsway Theatre, London 1st UK 2.2.1908	Chothia 1998 Fitz. & Gardner 1991 Gardner 1992 Stowell 1992	xxxvi 33 9, 11 165

	Title	Year	Author	Other Information*	Authority (Source)	Page/s
9.	*A Doll's House*	1879	Ibsen, Henrik	1st UK 1889 Achurch-Charrington Sympathetic Actress famous for Nora in England: Janet Achurch 1st Aust 14.9.1889 New Princess's, Melb: Achurch Actress famous for Nora in Aust 1889–91: Achurch	Chothia 1998 Gardner 1992 Hoare 2008 Contemporary press Parsons 1995	xxxv 3, 7, 11 1 NLA Trove 490
10.	*Fanny's First Play*	1911	Anonymous (G.B. Shaw)	1st UK 1911 Little Theatre	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
11.	*Hedda Gabler*	1890	Ibsen, Henrik	1st UK 1891 Robins (Hedda) & Marion Lea Sympathetic 1st Aust 25.8.1891 Albert Hall, Adelaide: Achurch Aust 1901, 1905: Nance O'Neil	Chothia 1998 Gardner 1992 Contemporary press Contemporary press	xxxv 11 NLA Trove NLA Trove
12.	*Hindle Wakes*	1912–13	Houghton, Stanley	1st UK 1912–13 Aldwych, Manchester Rep Co.	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
13.	*How the Vote was Won*	1909	Hamilton, Cicely, & St John, Christopher Marie	1st UK 1909 Royalty	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
14.	*In the Workhouse*	1911	Nevinson, Margaret	1st UK 1911 Kingsway, Pioneer Players	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
15.	*The Last of the De Mullins*	1908	Hankin, St John	NW emancipated; "heroize[d]" by author 1st UK 1908 Haymarket, Stage Society	Chothia 1998 Chothia 1998	xii xxxvi
16.	*The Madras House*	1910	Granville-Barker, Harley	1st UK 1910 Duke of York's Sympathetic but NW denied reality	Chothia 1998 Gardner 1992	xxxvi 4, 9
17.	*Major Barbara*	1905	Shaw, George Bernard	1st UK 1905 Court	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
18.	*Man and Superman*	1905	Shaw, George Bernard	1st UK 1905 Court	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
19.	*The Marrying of Ann Leete*	1902	Granville-Barker, Harley	1st UK 1902 Stage Society	Chothia 1998	xxxv

	Title	Year	Author	Other Information*	Authority (Source)	Page/s
20.	*Miss Julie*	1888	Strindberg, August	1st Copenhagen 14.3.1889; London 1912	Meyer 1993	85, 88
21.	*Mrs. Warren's Profession*	1893	Shaw, George Bernard	Banned prior to 1902	Chothia 1998	xi
				1st UK 1902 Closed House; licensed 1925	Chothia 1998	xxxv
				Sympathetic but NW denied reality	Gardner 1992	7, 9
22.	*The New Woman*	1894	Grundy, Sydney	Satirises and caricatures NW	Chothia 1998	x–xi
				1st UK 1894 Comedy Theatre	Chothia 1998	xxxv
				1st UK 1.9.1894 Comedy Theatre, London; pub. 1894 Chiswick Press London; antipathetic	Gardner 1992	2–4, 7, 13
23.	*The Newest Woman*	1895	Henry, Richard (Henry Chase Newton & Richard Butler)	1st UK 1895	Chothia 1998	xxxv
24.	*The Notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith*	1895	Pinero, Arthur Wing	NW ultimately conformed	Gardner 1992	9
				1st UK 1895 Garrick	Chothia 1998	xxxv
				Strong protagonist, but submits at end	Chothia 1998	x
25.	*A Pageant of Great Women*	1909	Hamilton, Cicely	1st UK 1909 Scala	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
26.	*The Philanderer*	1893	Shaw, George Bernard	Not produced	Chothia 1998	xxxv
27.	*Press Cuttings*	1909	Shaw, George Bernard	1st UK 1909 Gaiety, Manchester	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
28.	*The Return of the Prodigal*	1905	Hankin, St John	1st UK 1905 Court	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
29.	*Rosmersholm*	1886	Ibsen, Henrik	Actress famous for Rebecca in Eng: Florence Farr	Gardner 1992	11
30.	*Rutherford and Son*	1912	Sowerby, Githa	1st UK 1912–13 Court; Little Theatre; Vaudeville	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
				1st UK 31.1.1908 Court Theatre, London	Fitz. & Gardner 1991	140
				1st UK 31.1.1908	Stowell 1992	166
31.	*The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*	1894	Pinero, Arthur Wing	1st UK 1893 St James's	Chothia 1998	xxxv

	Title	Year	Author	Other Information*	Authority (Source)	Page/s
32.	*The Twelve Pound Look*	1910	Barrie, J[ames] M[atthew]	1st UK 1910 Duke of York's	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
33.	*Utopia Limited*	1893	Gilbert, W[illiam] S[chwenck]	NW: Princess Zara 1st UK 1893 Savoy	Chothia 1998 Chothia 1998	x–xi xxxv
34.	*Votes for Women!*	1907	Robins, Elizabeth	NW = emancipated; "heroize[d]" by Robins 1st UK 1907 Court 1st UK 9.4.1907	Chothia 1998 Chothia 1998 Stowell 1992	xii xxxvi 165
35.	*The Voysey Inheritance*	1905	Granville-Barker, Harley	1st UK 1905 Court	Chothia 1998	xxxvi
36.	*The Weaker Sex*	1888	Pinero, Arthur Wing	Makes sport with girls seeking emancipation	Chothia 1998	x

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